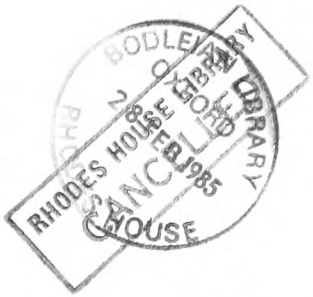
THE IKAT TEXTILES OF LAMALERA, LEMBATA WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF EASTERN INDONESIAN FABRIC TRADITIONS



VOL I



Thesis Submitted to the
Board of the Faculty of
Anthropology and Geography
University of Oxford

For the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Ruth Barnes

Lady Margaret Hall

Trinity 1984

ABSTRACT

THE IKAT TEXTILES OF LAMALERA, LEMBATA WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF EASTERN INDONESIAN FABRIC TRADITIONS, by Ruth Barnes, Lady Margaret Hall, University of Oxford. Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Trinity Term, 1984.

The thesis describes a weaving tradition which until now has been largely ignored. It concentrates on one particular community and tries to give historical depth to a complex ethnographic situation. Lamalera was founded by outsiders from other parts of eastern Indonesia. The settling took place prior to European contacts with the area. The village has traditionally looked in two directions: adopting the local language and culture, it also provided a major connection to the outside world for the people of the interior. The ikat weavings produced in Lamalera illustrate well the many facets of the community.

Chapter 1 is an introduction to the ikat technique and design in Indonesia. The importance of imported Indian cloths, patola, is first mentioned. Chapters 2 to 4 deal with the technical side of cloth production. In Chapter 2 the cotton preparation, spinning, and dyeing are described. Chapter 3 introduces the loom universally used in Lamaholot. The ikat process is described in Chapter 4.

From Chapter 5 to 10 the functions of cloth are discussed. Textiles as costume are described in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 concentrates on the local trade in cloths, which is economically vital to Lamalera. Chapter 7 gives the ikat patterns found on women's sarongs, starting with the traditional patterns which are suitable for use on bridewealth cloths, and discusses both recent and ancient foreign influences which were introduced through trade.

Chapter 8 links particular traditional patterns with certain clans. Chapter 9 elaborates on the connection between clan patterns and patola influences. Chapter 10 describes the rôle of textiles as gifts. Chapters 11 and 12 compare the weaving of Lamalera to other Lamaholot traditions.

The oral history of the settling of Lamalera is given in Chapter 13, while Chapter 14 places the local tradition into historical context. The conclusion elaborates on the historical and geographic network which the textiles of Lamalera have been part of.

PREFACE

The research for this thesis was generously funded by a Department of Education State-Studentship. Not only did the Department provide the usual support for doctoral research, but in addition it made it possible to visit museum collections in Holland and Switzerland and, most important of all, to travel to Indonesia in 1979. I conducted further research in 1982 while serving as a research assistant on a project funded by the Social Science Research Council. Both trips were carried out under the auspices of the Lembaga Pengetahuan Indonesia.

The Department of Education award was granted to me due to the strong support of my former teachers in the Department of Fine Art, at the University of Edinburgh, in particular Dr. Robert Hillenbrand and Mr. John Higgitt. Although his interest is primarily in early Islamic art of the Near and Middle East, Dr. Hillenbrand's teaching has greatly influenced my own view of Southeast Asian textile traditions. Dr. Arnold Rubin, of the University of California at Los Angeles, is another former teacher whose enthusiastic encouragement has been most important in my preparations for the writing of this thesis. I am most grateful for

the guidance and continuous support I was given by my Oxford supervisor, Professor Rodney Needham of All Souls College. He agreed to supervise a thesis which could not easily be classified as either art history or ethnology, and I deeply appreciate his support. Without it the manuscript would never have materialised.

My particular gratitude goes, of course, to the many weavers of Lamalera. Their interest in, and their patience with, my work has been essential. I am especially grateful to my friends Maria Korohama Belikololong, Yosefina Keraf, and Maria Sura Belikololong, who shared our hosehold and taught me the technical aspects of ikat and weaving. Tagalasi Batafor, Viktoria Belikololong, and Lusia Dai Krofa provided me with authoritative information on many aspects of ikat design.

Thanks are due to the various museums which have allowed me to inspect their collections, in particular the Städtisches Museum für Völkerkunde, Frankfurt, the Museum für Völkerkunde und Schweizerisches Museum für Volkskunde, Basel, the Tropen Museum, Amsterdam, and the Rijksmuseum voor Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden. The smaller holdings of the Musée de l'Homme, Paris, and the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde, Rotterdam, were also kindly made available for my inspection. Most generous in their comments and interest were Dr. J. Agthe, Rita Bolland, and Dr. M.-L. Nabholz-Kartaschoff.

My husband Robert H. Barnes, is entirely responsible for my initial interest in eastern Indonesia. I am most indebted to him for the practical support he has given the thesis project. His most recent contribution has been the typing of the manuscript in its final form.

Lady Margaret Hall gave its generous financial support in the preparation of the thesis, in particular towards photographic expenses. In addition, the Committee for Graduate Studies of the General Board of the Faculties, University of Oxford, made funds available for the illustrations.

CONTENTS

	LIST OF MAPS	ix
	LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	x
	LIST OF FIGURES	xv
	INTRODUCTION	1
	1. The Village of Lamalera	6
	2. Political History	10
	3. Contacts with Western Education	13
	4. Conditions of Fieldwork	19
	5. Sources	23
Chapter		
I.	IKAT AS TEXTILE DECORATION	26
	1. Fibres used for Ikat	32
	2. Dyes and Dyeing Methods for Ikat Threads	35
	3. The Use of Ikat Cloth	38
	4. Ikat Designs	45
	5. Patola Cloths	48
	6. Geometric and Figurative Design	52
	7. The Origin and Extent of Ikat	55
II.	SPINNING AND DYEING	59
	1. Preparation of Cotton	60
	2. Dyes and their Preparation	65
III.	THE LOOM	80
	1. Weaving on a Lamaholot Loom	82
	2. Setting Up the Warp	87
IV.	THE IKAT PROCESS	91
	1. Setting Up the Thread	91
	2. The Ikat Frame	94
	3. Tying the Knots	96
	4. Dyeing and Re-tying	99
	5. The Ikat Design in its Relationship to the Cloth	102
V.	TEXTILES AS COSTUME	108
	1. Manner of Dress	109
	2. The Woman's Sarong	113
	3. The Man's Sarong	116
	4. The Shoulder Cloth	119
VI.	TRADE OF CLOTH	120

VII. IKAT PATTERNS FOUND IN LAMALERA 131
1. Traditional Patterns 131
2. Recently Invented or Copied Patterns 140
3. European Influence on Cloth 142
4. The Patola Trade 146

VIII. CLAN OWNERSHIP OF PATTERNS AND CLOTH 151
1. Clans and Patterns 151
2. Cloth as Treasure 157

IX. THE ORIGINS OF PATOLA-TYPE PATTERNS 170
1. Direct Patola Copies 170
2. Ata Ɓikã̃ 172
3. Other Reinterpretations 177
4. The Position of Indian and Lamaholot Patterns on the Cloth 180

X. CLOTH AS GIFT 183
1. Marriage Prestations 183
2. Cloth and Burial 191
3. Colour 194
4. Odd and Even Numbers 197

XI. WEAVING AND DESIGN IN LEREK AND ILI API 201
1. Lerek 202
2. Ili Api 210

XII. SOLOR, ADONARA, AND EAST FLORES 216
1. Solor 216
2. Lewokukung/Tanalein 224
3. Adonara 226
4. East Flores 232
5. Conclusion 235

XIII. A LOCAL HISTORY OF LAMALERA 242
1. Lamalera's History 243
2. Interpretation 257

XIV. HISTORY AS KNOWN THROUGH DOCUMENTS 267
1. Early European Contacts 267
2. Local Tradition in Historical Context 283

XV. CONCLUSION 299

APPENDIX: A WEAVING TERMINOLOGY 309

BIBLIOGRAPHY 316

LIST OF MAPS

MAP 1: Indonesia xvii

MAP 2: The Lamaholot Islands xviii

MAP 3: Lembata xix

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration		
1.	Lamalera, Lembata: The Beach and Boatsheds	354
2.	Fishing	355
3.	A Boat Returning From a Day at Sea	356
4.	A Drying Rack with Strips of Manta Ray and Whale Drying in the Sun	357
5.	Man Weaving a Basket	358
6.	Pools of Brine Left to Evaporate in the Sun for Making Salt	359
7.	Woman Gathering the Concentrated Brine Which Will Be Boiled Down to Extract Salt	360
8.	A Lamalera Backyard	361
9.	Palm Fibre Representation of an Evil Spirit on Buru	362
10.	A Queen from Nias Wears the Cloth Appropriate to her Rank	363
11.	Lamalera, Three-Panel Bridewealth Cloth (Basel, IIc 14458)	364
12.	Lamalera, Three-Panel Bridewealth Cloth (Basel, IIc 14728)	365
13.	Lamalera, Three-Panel Bridewealth Cloth (Basel, IIc 14729)	366
14.	Lamalera or Lerek, Three-Panel Bridewealth Cloth (Basel, IIc 14733)	367
15.	Lamalera, Three-Panel Bridewealth Cloth (Basel, IIc 14734)	368
16.	Lamalera, Three-Panel Bridewealth Cloth (Basel, IIc 14736)	369
17.	Lamalera, Three-Panel Bridewealth Cloth (Basel, IIc 15958)	370
18.	Lerek, Three-Panel Bridewealth Cloth (Frankfurt, N.S. 28040)	371
19.	Detail of 18	372
20.	Lerek, Three-Panel Bridewealth Cloth (Frankfurt, N.S. 28110)	373
21.	Detail of 20	374
22.	Ili Api, Two-Panel Bridewealth Cloth (Basel, IIc 14731)	375
23.	Ili Api (?), Three-Panel Bridewealth Cloth (Basel, IIc 14732)	376
24.	Solor, Region of Ritaebang, Two-Panel Bridewealth Cloth (Frankfurt, N.S. 27895)	377
25.	Solor, Two-Panel Bridewealth Cloth (Frankfurt, N.S. 27896)	378

26. Solor, Two-Panel Bridewealth Cloth (Frankfurt, N.S. 27904) 379
27. Solor, Two-Panel Bridewealth Cloth (Frankfurt, N.S. 27925) 380
28. Solor, Two-Panel Bridewealth Cloth (Frankfurt, N.S. 27941) 381
29. East Flores, Lobe Tobi Region, Three-Panel Bridewealth Cloth (Frankfurt, N.S. 27771) 382
30. A Rotinese Couple Preparing an Initial Stage of Their Own Funeral 383
31. Lio, Flores, Three-Panel Woman's Sarong 384
32. Patolu from Gujarat, India (Basel, IIa 2391) 385
33. Roti, Man's Cloth (Musée de l'Homme 61.15.7) 386
34. Sumba, Kodi Region, Man's Mantle 387
35. Bride and Bridegroom of the Nobility, Java, Jogjakarta, c. 1906 388
36. Prince in Dance Costume, Java, Jogjakarta, After 1900 389
37. Kisar, Sarong 390
38. Picking Out the Cotton Seeds by Hand 391
39. Picking the Cotton Seeds with a Gin, Béa 392
40. The Cotton Gin 393
41. Fluffing the Cotton Prior to Spinning 394
42. Women are Spinning as They Wait to be Served at a Wedding Feast 395
43. Statue Carved by a Man of Lamalera, Showing a Woman Returning from Trading 396
44. Thread is Wound into a Ball with the Use of a Swift, Menué 397
45. The Cotton Thread is Wound into Skeins on the Hand Reel, Belafa 398
46. The Roots of Morinda Citrifolia are Dug Up to Provide Red Dye 399
47. The Morinda Root Shavings 400
48. Lime is Added to the Dye Bath 401
49. The Ikat Bundles are Immersed 402
50. Pounding the Bark of the Tenor Tree to Provide Red Dye 403
51. The Threads are Immersed into the Dye Bath 404
52. Basket of Threads All Dyed with Plant Dyes 405
53. A Body-Tension, Foot-Braced Loom Used Among the Li People of Hainan Island 406
54. Bronze Cowrie Container, Shishaishan, Western Han 407
55. Bronze Figure of a Woman Weaving and Nursing a Child. Found in East Flores 408
56. A Lamalera Woman Weaving in the Shade of a Boathouse 409
57. A Weaving Sword, Huri, Made of Whale Bone 410
58. Setting Up the Warp 411

59. The Shed Stick is Brought Up to the Heddle Rod to Open the Warp Threads Led over the Shed Stick. The Action is Called Ékok 412
60. The Weaver Brings Up the Heddle Warp. The Action is Called Tié 413
61. The Weft is Wound onto the Weft Stick, Fani 414
62. Warping in Preparation for Ikat 415
63. Lusia Dai Working at Her Ikat Frame, Selaga 416
64. The Ikat Frame, Selaga, with a Nearly Completed Set of Ikat Patterns 417
65. Close-Up View of Ill. 63 418
66. A Bundle of Morinda-Dyed Ikat is Hung Up to Dry 419
67. Tagalasi Batafor Opens the Parts of Her Ikat Which Will Now be Dyed Red 420
68. The Dying of the Ikat Patterns has been Completed and All Knots are Cut 421
69. Women Going Off to a Clan Festivity 422
70. The Two-Panel Bridewealth Cloth, Kewatek Nai Ruã 423
71. The Three-Panel Bridewealth Cloth, Kewatek Nai Telo 424
72. The Man's Sarong, Nofi 425
73. A Shoulder Cloth, Senai, Showing the Patterns "Ray" (Moku) and "Boat" (Téna) 426
74. Man Wearing a Woman's Sarong 427
75. The Pattern Belére in the Central Panel, "Shark" (Iu) and "Boat" (Téna) in the Outer Panel 428
76. Gaja Penapã Used Throughout a Three-Panel Cloth 429
77. The Pattern "Shark", Iu, a Small Ray, Moku, and the Front of a Boat, Téna, are Visible 430
78. A Woman's Festive Sarong with Pattern Jõ, "Chinese Junk", and Moku, "Manta Ray" 431
79. Pattern Ketipa, "Patolu Cloth", with a Set of Five Shell Brancelets, Flo 432
80. Border of a Two-Panel Bridewealth Cloth 433
81. Central Panel Showing Nuba, "Betel Basket Compartment"; Outer Panel with Kelulus, "Small Boat", and Moku, "Manta Ray" 434
82. Central Panel with Pattern Petolã, a Reference to the Indian Patola Cloths. The Lower Outer Panel Shows Ka'u Belapit, the Smallest Named Pattern, and an Elaborate Version of Petolã 435
83. Klara Kewa Bataona with a Central Panel for a Three-Panel Cloth, Pattern Pusu Rebõ 436
84. Central Panel with Pattern Taru Matã (Version a) 437
85. Taru Matã (Version b) 438
86. Taru Matã (Version b) 439

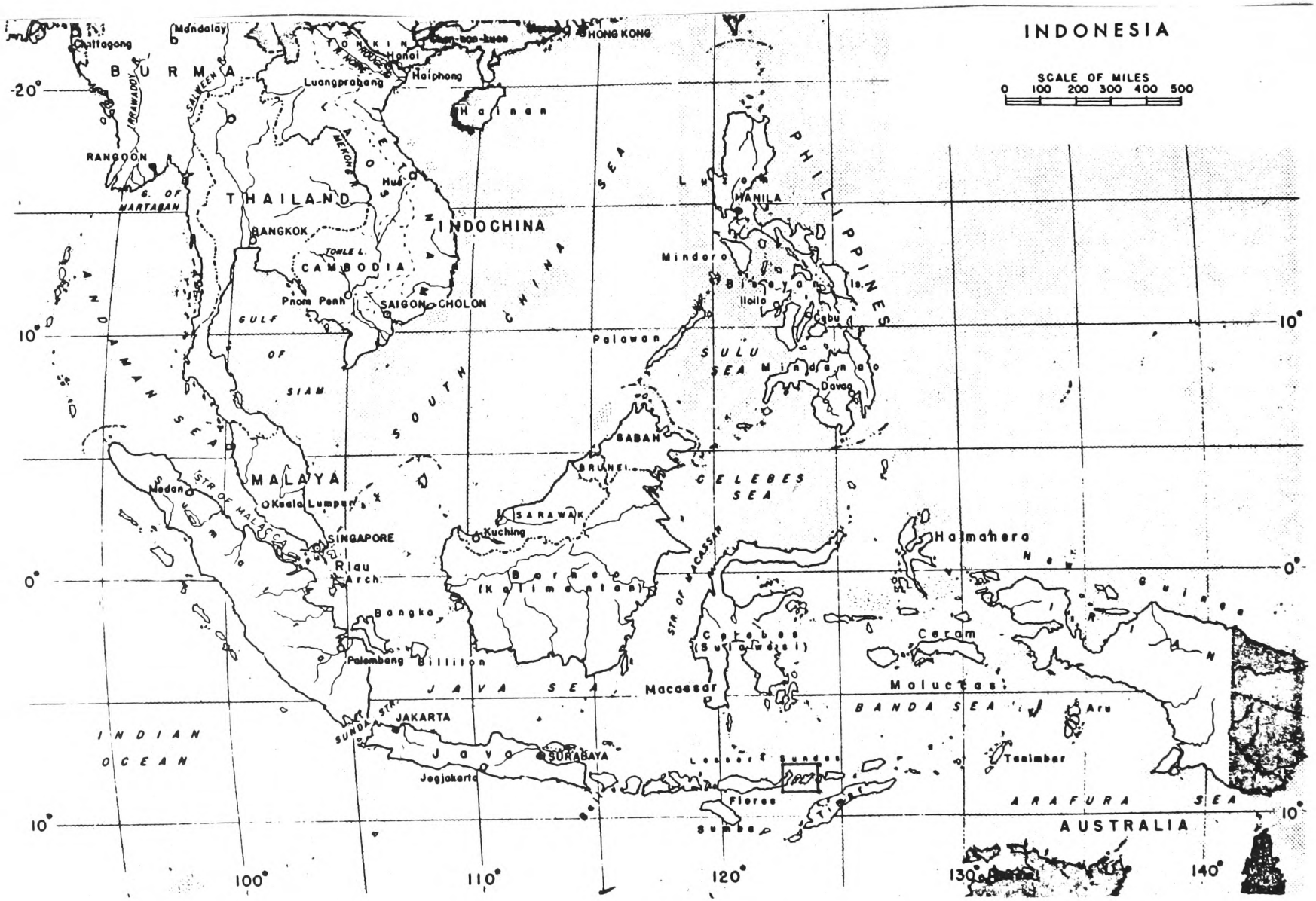
87. Festive Sarong Made by the Daughter of the Woman Who Made the Cloth in 86 440
88. Klara Ese Lelaona Wearing a Festive Sarong with Ikat Showing her Initials, the "Star" Pattern, Tona, and Birds Flanking a Vase 441
89. Detail of a Shoulder Cloth 442
90. Women Partaking in a Traditional Clan Meeting at Which a Planned Wedding is Discussed 443
91. Ikat Patterns Tyed and Ready for Dyeing 444
92. Two Imported Cotton Cloths, Nofi Belaja 445
93. The Indian Patola Cloth, Locally Called Ketipa, Which is Owned by the Clan Sulaona 446
94. The Ketipa of the Clan Lelaona 447
95. Patola Motif Type 8 448
96. Shoulder Cloth from Atadẽi with the Pattern "Man", Ata Dikan 449
97. Lamalera Pattern "Man", Ata Dikã 450
98. Funeral Shroud from Galumpang, Sulawesi 451
99. Warp-Ikat Cotton Blanket, Iban, Sarawak 452
100. The Patola Prototype for the Pattern Futu Galã, "Point of a Lance" 453
101. Elephant Tusk Which Belongs to the Clan Lelaona 454
102. The Three Types of Bracelets Which are Part of the Gift Exchange at Marriage 455
103. Thread and Cloth Given to the Bride Before her Wedding, Pau Kebarak 456
104. A Bride's Cloths are Taken to her New Clan House 457
105. The Bride (Right Centre) Enters her New Clan House 458
106. Cloth at the Funeral, Bewailing the Dead 459
107. Scraps of White Cloth are Placed into the Coffins to Sever the Ties with the Living 460
108. Lerek Bridewealth Cloth, Petak Harẽn 461
109. Detail from Lerek Bridewealth Cloth, Showing Moku, "Manta Ray" 462
110. Lerek Woman's Sarong for Daily Wear, Petak Alẽ or Krẽmo Wua Wẽlak 463
111. Lerek Woman's Sarong, Petak Alẽ, with the Patterns Tẽna, "Boat", and Jarang, "Horse" 464
112. Necklace of Beads from Lerek 465
113. Bridewealth Cloth from Ili Api 466
114. Bridewealth Cloth from the Mountainous Region, South of Ili Api 467
115. Bridewealth Cloth from the Mountains South of Ili Api 468
116. Bridewealth Cloth Made in Lamalera, but Showing Ili Api Patterns in the Outer Panel 469
117. A Woman from Sika, but Married in Lamalera, is Showing the Warp for a Woman's Sarong She is About to Start Weaving 470

118.	Weaving in Southwest Solor	471
119.	The Present-Day Bridewealth Cloth, Kewatek Temodol Belapit	472
120.	The "Red Sarong", Kewatek Méan, Formerly Used for Bridewealth in Southwest Solor	473
121.	The Kewatek Méan of Southwest Solor	474
122.	Lobe Tobi Woman Wearing the Red Sarong as It Was Formerly Suitable for a Married Woman	475
123.	Woman's Sarong from Tanalẽin, Solor: Kewatek Kemetã, "Black Sarong"	476
124.	Woman's Sarong from Tanalẽin, Solor: Kewatek Mowa	477
125.	A Festive Sarong from Ili Boleng, Adonara	478
126.	Ili Mandiri, East Flores: Woman Wearing a Kewatek Kenumak and Holding a Kewatek Méan on Her Shoulder	479
127.	The "Red Sarong", Kewatek Méan, of Ili Mandiri Has One Wide Ikat Band, the Kenirak Bẽlẽn, "Large Pattern".	480
128.	Ili Mandiri: the Kewatek Makasar	481
129.	Ili Mandiri: Detail of a Man's Belt, Met, Against the Background of a Man's Sarong	482
130.	The Kris Owned by the Clan Bataona, of Javanese Origin	483
131.	The "Shroud of St. Josse", Northern Iran (Khorasan), ca. A.D. 950, the Louvre	484
132.	Detail of Central Panel, Three-Panel Cloth from Lamalera (Basel, IIc 14735)	485
133.	Patolu Collected on Solor (Frankfurt, N.S. 27957)	486
134.	Detail from Ili Api Woman's Sarong, Showing the Ikat Interpretation of a Double Spiral	487

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		
1.	Spindle and Spinning	331
2.	Skeining on the Hand Reel (Belafa)	331
3.	General Characteristics Common to All Body-Tension Looms	332
4.	The Lamaholot Loom	333
5.	Setting Up the Warp (Nekat)	334
6.	Warp with String Heddle, Heddle Rod, and Shed Stick	335
7.	"Stroking the Warp" (Tẽta Nekat)	335
8.	The Ikat Frame (Selaga)	336
9.	Tying the Ikat Knot	337
10.	Two-Panel Woman's Sarong with Ikat Decoration (Kewatek Menikil)	338
11.	Two-Panel Bridewealth Cloth (Kewatek Nai Ruã)	339
12.	Three-Panel Bridewealth Cloth (Kewatek Nai Telo)	340
13.	Arã, "Plank"	341
14.	a) Befajak, "Betel Box" or "Betel Basket" b) Befajak Penapã, "Part of a Betel Box"	341
15.	Boleng, Refers to Ili Boleng on Adonara	341
16.	Iu, "Shark"; Moku, "Ray"	341
17.	Jõ, "Chinese Junk"	341
18.	Ka'u Belapit, "Folding Coconut Leaves", "Ikat Dyed Twice"	342
19.	Kebeku, "Sun Fish"	342
20.	Kelulus, "Small Boat"	342
21.	Kelapã, "Tool Box"	342
22.	Mekot, "Scorpion"	342
23.	Moku, "Manta Ray"	342
24.	Tẽna, "Boat"	342
25.	Tẽna Tuba Moku: "Boat Harpoons Manta Ray"	342
26.	Tona, "Star"	343
27.	Ata Dikã, "Man"	343
28.	Belẽrẽ (no known meaning)	344
29.	Gaja Penapã, "Part of an Elephant"	344
30.	Ketipa, Indian Patolu Cloth	344
31.	Menuẽ, "Swift"	345
32.	Moku Bẽlã, "Large Manta Ray"	345
33.	Nuba, "Compartment of Betel Basket"	345
34.	Petolã, refers to Indian patolu cloth	346
35.	Pusu Rebõ, no known meaning	346
36.	Taru Matã, "Putting on the Ikat", Two Versions, a and b	346

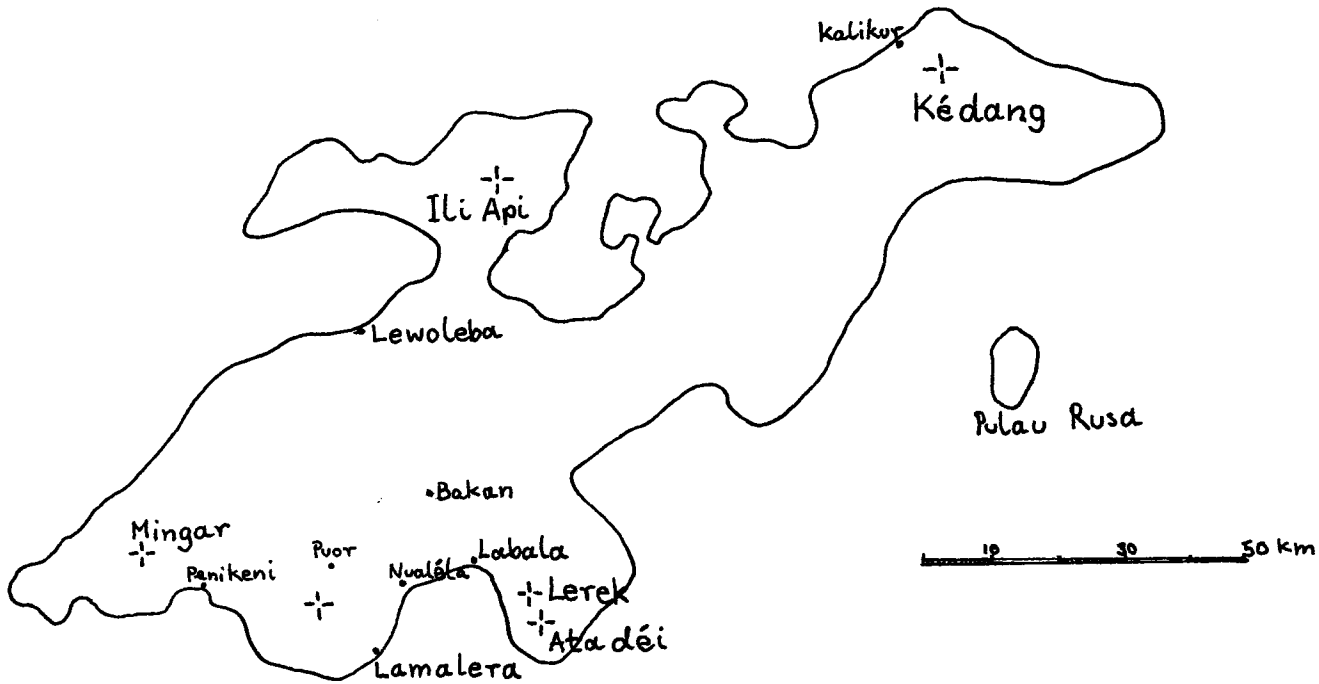
37.	Iu Ipã, "Shark's Tooth"	347
38.	Futu Galã, "Point of a Lance"	347
39.	Relationship of Patolu Floral Border to Lamalera Design	348
40.	Measurements of the Tusks Exchanged at Marriage	349
41.	Composite Pattern of Kewatek Méan, Solor	350
42.	The Setting of Lamalera	351
43.	Motifs Commonly Found on Southeast Asian Bronze Drums, Pottery Finds, and Present-Day Lamaholot Textiles	352
44.	a) Double Spiral; b) Ili Api Ikat Motif	352
45.	Interlocking Double Spirals	353



MAP 1: Indonesia



MAP 2: The Lamaholot Islands



MAP 3: Lembata

INTRODUCTION

At the very beginning of this study in textiles stood a prohibition on weaving. In 1969 I accompanied my husband, who is a social anthropologist, on his fieldwork to eastern Indonesia. We had chosen to stay in Kédang, in the eastern part of Lembata, an island and an area which we had decided on almost entirely for its obscurity and for the reason that it had been largely ignored by foreign visitors. Lembata also interested me because it was known to have a developed ikat tradition. I was looking forward to two years in an isolated mountain community, in which time I was hoping to deepen my understanding and appreciation of the local version of an impressive textile art. I was bitterly disappointed and yet simultaneously confronted with an initial set of questions, some of which still puzzle me. Kédang has no weaving tradition of its own; furthermore, although the weaving of sarongs had been introduced during the Japanese occupation, no loom has entered the traditional mountain hamlets. There exists a strict prohibition on weaving in the so-called old village, lédu tuan, which is the focal point of each community. No cotton is grown in these traditional sites, either.

Yet the Kédang do not go naked, and they have not done so in the recent past. Furthermore, cloth is a necessary part of an elaborate exchange of gifts which is initiated by marriage. The textiles thus required are bartered for, traditionally either from Ili Api, a region to the west which is known for its prolific weaving, or from the Islamic coastal trading village of Kalikur. The Kédang bridewealth cloth has to be predominantly black, that is dyed with indigo. The equivalent cloth in Ili Api however is red. If an Ili Api weaver, therefore, wants to produce cloth for the Kédang market, she has to make something different from her own tradition.

The particular situation found in Kédang raises certain questions, all of which focus on the acceptance or rejection of change, and on transition. Cloth is an essential trade item, yet it has to be adapted to fulfill specific requirements. Indonesian textiles are usually interpreted as an art form which is strictly conservative and very slow to change. The cloths needed for traditional ceremonies, such as those associated with weddings or funerals, often are of a very specific type and may have to be of a certain colour and design. Change does occur, though, and outside influences are slowly assimilated. Students of Indonesian textiles have long been aware of the importance of the trade in foreign cloth to the numerous weaving traditions of the

archipelago. In particular, the presence of Indian patola, silk double-ikat cloths from Gujarat, has been known from the earliest European documents, and their influence on local patterns has been well attested. Yet the patola were only a small fraction of the trade with Indian textiles. As formative as their influence was on the appearance of many Indonesian cloths, they should not be seen in isolation. Indian prints, European cloth, and an active trade in local textiles have all been part of the trade in maritime Southeast Asia, and to some degree they have influenced local weaving traditions.

In my opinion, studies in Indonesian textiles have focused too exclusively on the spectacular cloths, on the textiles which are necessary for certain ceremonies or rituals. These are almost certainly decorated in an elaborate technique and quite often dyed with natural dyes. They also are relatively rare (or have become so), and therefore they make more valuable exhibition material for museums and galleries. To consider these cloths to the exclusion of all else is like considering the rôle of textiles and clothing in our own society by looking only at the wedding dress, the funeral suit, and maybe, for good measure, the academic gown. All three provide fascinating material for the textile historian and can give insights into certain structures of our own communities. But to

appreciate the appearance and employment of particular textiles or costumes, they have to be seen integrated into mundane life. Changes in everyday costume may eventually change the appearance of ceremonial dress.

My initial observation of the use of textiles, their trade, and their production has continued to influence my work. This study is an attempt to put the questions an art historian may pose to an art form which is found in an environment where written documents are scarce and where the local oral history is chronologically vague. One has to take a very close look indeed to put together a picture of relationships between the islands and people from elsewhere, and there the textile traditions of the area provide a major clue. My investigation of textiles will focus on the question of assimilation, of influences, whether foreign or indigenous, and it will try to find some answers to the question of why certain motives are accepted and re-interpreted, and how the adaptation takes place. It will start with and always return to the conditions of work in one particular place, the village of Lamalera on the south coast of Lembata. To come to meaningful conclusions about the questions posed here, I have found it indispensable to keep my specific, and very close, knowledge of one community as a constant point of reference. I have also found it necessary to acquire a detailed understanding of the technical aspect of weaving and textile decoration, in particular

of the ikat process. To do so, I have made my own cloth, decorated with traditional ikat patterns. This was done during my most recent stay in the village in 1982 under the instruction of my weaver friends, but without their interference. I hope that by communicating the detail, I may contribute to a deeper understanding of the general: the importance of cloth, which seems to be a universal aspect of human societies.

Lembata is part of a culturally and linguistically united island group, which also includes Adonara, Solor and east Flores (see Map II).[1] The people call themselves Lamaholot; nationally and on international maps the islands are known as the Solor Islands. The German ethnographer Ernst Vatter, who visited the Lamaholot (and Kědang) in 1928/29, has said of their visual arts,

> One would be tempted to proclaim the Solor Islands as one of the least artistic and in their material culture most unimaginative areas in all of Indonesia, if there were not at least one field of craft activity...that is the <u>weaving</u>, and related to it, the <u>ikat</u>....The ornaments are simple, but their

---

[1] Lembata has been known under different names: Lomblen, Lomblem, Quella, Kawella, Levoleba, Lombatta. Lomblen was the name generally accepted under Dutch rule in this century. In the 1950's the change to Lembata became official.

> simplicity is here an aesthetic advantage. Design and colour are reserved and calm; the textiles produced on East Flores, on Solor and on Lomblen [Lembata] lose out in a first comparison to the cloths of Sumba, with their vivid animal ornaments, or to the decorative products of the small islands Savu and Roti, with their brilliant colours, but in the long run they exude the stronger artistic effect. One never grows tired of them, but appreciates to an increasing degree the reserved gentility which speaks through the calmly organized surface, through the unpretentious patterns and the muted colours (Vatter 1932: 217).

Whether one entirely agrees with Vatter's lyrical description or not, the women of Lamaholot certainly do excel in the production of outstanding ikat cloths.

1. The Village of Lamalera.

During the two years spent in Kédang (1969-1971) I could only catch glimpses of what I would have become involved in, had we not gone quite so far to the east. Much of Lamaholot has a flourishing weaving tradition, and I was especially attracted initially to the cloths produced in Ili Api and in southern Lembata (Atadéi, Lerek, and Lamalera), as well as by the textiles of western Solor and

east Flores. One village in particular, Lamalera, impressed both me and my husband, for different aspects of their traditional way of life, and we decided to return to it for a longer study. We were finally successful in doing so in 1979, when we stayed in Lamalera for three months, and again in 1982, when it was possible to visit for half a year.

Lamalera is a village on the southern coast of Lembata. The majority of the island's population lives from agriculture and is strongly land oriented. The staple foods, mainly maize, tubers (sweet potatoes), rice and beans, are grown on the slopes of the island's volcanoes and, more recently, in fields which have been opened in the hills and open plains which run through the centre of Lembata, from west to east. Lamalera, however, was settled from the sea, according to oral history by refugees from Lapan Batan, an island in the straits between Lembata and Pantar which was destroyed by a volcanic eruption prior to European contact with the area. The land they settled on is still under the authority of the respective tana alap (Lamaholot: "Lord of the Land") of two mountain villages inland from Lamalera. The settlers who had fled from Lapan Batan claim Sulawesi as their ultimate place of origin. They were eventually joined by others who traced their descent to Flores, to Solor, or to the Kei Islands in the far east of Indonesia. The village has been a fishing community from the start, and it has retained strong ties to the sea, which is unusual for the otherwise

rural population of Lembata. Ceremonies concerning the community's well-being involve the sea, both as the source of income and as a link to the villagers' various places of origin. Apart from the close association with the sea, the village has accepted Lamaholot as a language and culture. The community is divided into clans, and descent is patrilineal. The ancestors of the various clans arrived in ships which supposedly were the models for all future fishing boats. Constantly repaired and rebuilt over the centuries, these boats have kept their names and associations with particular clans or sections of clans.

Lamalera has no fields, so that the fishermen's catch--notably sperm whale and giant manta ray, but also shark and smaller fish--has to be exchanged for staples grown inland. The fishing is done with harpoons from the boats, and it is exclusively a male activity. The large sailing boats hold fourteen men each; the catch is divided according to a complicated system of sharing which involves not only the families of men who are directly associated with a boat, but also people who provide material and service for its building and upkeep (see Barnes, R. H. 1974b, 1980). Fishing on this scale is a corporate matter; the good luck of a day's fishing filters through to virtually all segments of the village. The large-scale fishing in Lamalera is always an activity involving all clans. It is at the core

of the villagers' existence, both because it provides them with the means to barter for goods, and because it constantly reinforces the relations between groups.

The fishing and upkeep of the boats is done by the men of the community. The catch is then cut up and dried, and it is the women's task to exchange the dried meat for agricultural products in the mountain villages of the island's interior. Bartering the fish means strenuous journeys to the hills, returning with heavy loads of maize, tubers, bananas, and other seasonal produce.

In addition, the women of Lamalera spend much of their time weaving. The cloth they produce is only partly for their own use. They are expert weavers both for everyday cloth and for festive sarongs, and their products are sought after by the people of the interior. Lamalera has traditionally supplied all the local cloth needed in Mingar, in the west of Lembata, whereas in Kédang there exists a prohibition on weaving.

Labour is clearly divided according to sex. People are conscious of this circumstance and reason for it with the commands of the ancestors: "men go to sea, lé́fa, and hunt fish. Women go to the mountains to barter, du hopé́, and weave, tenané́." Other traditional jobs done exclusively by men are boat building, smithing (the metal harpoon heads are made in the village), and basket weaving. The latter is

unusual on the island, as it is entirely a female occupation everywhere else. The women also make salt from sea water, and chalk, which is essential for chewing betel.

In years when the fishing is generally bad, the survival of each family may depend largely on the industriousness of the women: by weaving cloths and making salt, the most vital staples, maize and tubers, can still be traded for. The season of 1982 was a particularly bad one, and both men and women commented frequently on how it was primarily in the hands of the women now to get enough food for the rainy season. It was not possible to discover any division by status between male and female tasks. In Lamalera, both men and women see each other and themselves as hard working and as equally contributing to the well-being of their households. Domestic duties, such as cooking, fetching water and wood, and cleaning, are predominantly but not exclusively done by women. Young children are looked after by either parent, or by relatives or friends, if father and mother have to be absent. The isolation which is part of life for a woman with small children in the west is completely foreign to mothers of Lamalera, as it would be in most rural communities in Indonesia.

2. Political History.

Lamalera's inhabitants numbered at the time of the

1980 national census 1197. All of Lembata then had a population of 85,299. The Lamaholot and Kédang are politically united under the regency of Flores Timur (East Flores, Solor, Adonara and Lembata). The regional capital is Larantuka on Flores. The regency as a whole recorded a population of 257,687 for the same census (Biro Pusat Statistik 1980: 165). Although linguistically and culturally of one kind, the region had traditionally no political unity. This was only established under the administration of the Dutch colonial government, and was not successfully completed until local rulers, who considered themselves as rajas, i.e. of aristocratic standing, had been brought under control.

The first Europeans in the area were Portuguese; they arrived on Solor in 1515, four years after their take-over of Malacca in 1511. The Dutch came only in 1613, intent on driving out their Portuguese rivals in the spice and sandalwood trade. The Solor Islands provided good harbour and a chance to replenish supplies, but did not seem vitally important for their local products. There was supposedly some sandalwood; otherwise the export was mainly in sulphur, beeswax, tamarind, edible bird's-nests (from Lembata), and slaves. The local rulers continued to see themselves as lords of their own regions. They were willing to negotiate with the European powers, as long as

they received the recognition and the gifts which they considered appropriate. Gifts of cloth in particular were signs of allegiance, as were elephant tusks imported from India, Ceylon, or mainland Southeast Asia.[2]

The Dutch East Indies Company had considerable trouble gaining control of the area, due to the manipulations by local rulers and shifting allegiances to the Portuguese. Religion, too, played a major rôle: Islam had already been established in several coastal villages on Solor and Adonara when the first Europeans arrived, and the Portuguese joined the battle for souls by sending Catholic missionaries in 1561. In Chapter XIV, I will discuss the early history in detail. At the moment I want only to add that behind much of the dealing by local rulers was a traditional division into two opposing population groups, the Demon and Paji. The division is found all over Lamaholot, and it involves a rivalry which is explained, in some parts, in mythological tales, in the struggle of two enemy brothers

---

[2] See the letter received by the council in Batavia on October 15th, 1663, from Queen Injai Chili of Solor, in which she demanded the company send her "four or five pikul white linen to make herself a grave cloth" [in Muslim fashion], as well as an elephant tusk, "somewhat larger than usual", to use, "as is the custom" for a pillow in her grave (Chijs 1891: 33, 499). By demanding these two gifts--cloth and tusk--she set her relationship to the company in a context which is still familiar to people of Lamaholot.

(see Arndt 1938). It was first mentioned by Europeans in 1636 (Basilio de Sá 1956: 486). Local warfare and animosities are often explained through the Demon--Paji division.

When the Dutch finally consolidated their power in the area, which was not done effectively until after 1859 when Portugal abdicated all claims to Larantuka, they used the two most powerful rajas, the Raja of Larantuka and the Raja of Adonara, who were Demon and Paji respectively, as administrative rulers of the divided area. This was the first attempt to shape an overall system of alliance based on the Demon--Paji division. Mingar, Labala (Lerek), Ili Api and Kédang were considered Paji on Lembata, while the area around Lamalera and the island's interior to the north and northeast and further to Lewoleba bay were dependants of the Raja of Larantuka and therefore Demon. Lamalera was traditionally the seat of the Raja's deputy for southern Lembata, the kakang, a position held until the reorganization of local governments into various kecamatan in 1962. The kecamatan is a district governed by civil servants, rather than by hereditary rulers.

3. Contacts with Western Education.

The village was also the first seat of a Catholic mission on the island. In 1920, a German priest, Pater Bernhard Bode, who worked for the S.V.D. (Divine Word Society),

established himself in Lamalera and soon had everyone converted to Catholicism (Bode 1925: 113-16; 129-32). A village school opened, and children had the chance of further education if they went to the mission school in Larantuka. The villagers responded with unusual intensity to the educational possibilities which the European mission offered. Full advantage was taken of the schools and the training offered through them. The first teachers in Lamaholot schools almost all came from Lamalera, and their sons and daughters have continued along the path of often lengthy and intense, and always very costly, professional training. The village, by now, has produced numerous teachers, priests, nuns, and government officials on local and national levels, as well as a professor of linguistics at the Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, a medical doctor in West Germany, a general in the Indonesian army who took a leading rôle in the Timor war, a diplomat and cultural attaché at the Indonesian embassy in Tokyo--the list could continue. The contrast between Lamalera's strongly traditional culture, which apparently emphasizes the indigenous, and which seems largely self-sufficient, and the eager readiness to adopt new possibilities have created a community of great diversity and constant surprises. It is, at the moment, very much involved in change, and just how the traditional life will be transformed by the intense contacts with the modern world is not quite certain.

It remains to be seen what effect the present transformation may have on the textile tradition. Gittinger (1979a: 51) writes,

> The mime of an evil spirit on the island of Buru portrays more than the myth of a small eastern Indonesian island. Here the structure of chaos is non-structure. Instead of cloth--the garb of order and custom--matted palm fibers swathe the figure. The costume disintegrates even as the figure moves. All is menacing, vague, impermanent. In contrast is the regal figure of a queen from Nias. Every element of her costume, from the sacred lembe over her shoulder to the precisely appliquéd skirt, is ordered precision--the epitome of control and superiority.
>
> These contrasting examples capture a basic concept governing costume in Indonesia: man manipulates costume as a crucial element of life and ceremony. Clothing is much more than a mere adjunct to life [see Ill. 9 and 10].

In the Lamaholot region, it is definitely and exclusively women who manipulate costume: they weave it, they know which patterns are appropriate, they sell it, they offer it as a ceremonial gift which is part of every marriage, and they receive and judge it at such a ceremony of bridewealth exchange (see Ill. 105). The contrast

between the unstructured fibre costume and the highly formal, restrained appearance of the Nias woman makes a point which is certainly valid for the way in which cloth, and in particular the woman's sarong, is seen by the Lamaholot. Without the traditional gift of cloth, a marriage cannot be initiated, and the dead cannot be buried. The result would be chaos. The women of Lamalera frequently talked to me about this, and they showed their concern about the present scarcity of traditional cloth, which is the only kind appropriate for the bridewealth exchange.

I noticed a marked difference in outlook between my stay in 1979 and the visit in 1982. During my earlier visit the women talked optimistically about the survival of their traditional art, while in 1982 a far more negative approach seemed to pervade their outlook. However, it must be added that during the latter stay, the general atmosphere in the village was rather depressed. The fishing season was very poor, an unusual amount of illness and deaths occurred, large-scale projects which required village-wide cooperation tended to fail, due to dissent, and the prominent leaders of the village had seriously fallen out with the European missionary. It was felt that nothing was quite right in Lamalera, and there was some discussion about the need to revive what was indigenous, so as not to lose the spirit which gave the village its strength. Older women who saw me work on a traditional cloth scolded the

young girls for being too lazy to do the same, and spoke at length on the peril of forgetting one's own tradition. Although the fishing had had unusually meagre results, at the end of the season it was decided that several boats which were in ill repair and could therefore no longer go to sea, would be rebuilt. When we left the village, work was going on on three traditional boats.

Ernst Vatter wrote of the weaving among the Lamaholot as he found it in 1928-29,

> When we acquired a particularly beautiful piece for our collection and asked to see the woman who had made it, we were either told that she was long since dead, or an ancient woman was brought forward, who told us that it had taken her five or more years of work on the cloth....Along with the old women the ikat technique slowly dies (Vatter 1932: 222).

The decline of interest in the local craft he put down to new preoccupations which dominated the young generation of women. His information and his extensive collection provide most valuable comparative material. He collected sixty-five cloths from the Lamaholot region. The largest single collection from one village he made in Lamalera. During his stay, which lasted only a few days, he collected nineteen sarongs.

The young girls and women he met then, he found not

interested in a method of textile decoration which required patience, and an appreciation and understanding of a tradition which was antithetical to Western ideas about productivity. These young women are certainly in their seventies now: they were my chief informants. They also showed me cloths which had taken them five years or longer to make, and they scolded the young women for being uninterested in making the traditional ikat cloths. The quality of the work they have done in their lifetime, since Vatter's visit, and which they are involved in at the moment, is of exactly the same standard as that documented in Vatter's collection: some is superb, both technically and aesthetically, and much is of average quality. Making the traditional cloths seems to have been always a work for an older, mature woman, who is past having to care for small children and a busy household. It is possible that the high quality of ikat weaving characteristic of Lamalera will survivé, although the appearance of the traditional cloth may change. This has happened elsewhere: on Solor, for example, a new kind of cloth has been introduced for bridewealth. The transition has been slow, but it has been completed now for at least two generations. Something similar seems to be happening in East Flores. This particular transformation is discussed in detail in Chapter XII. What is important to note is that the cloth itself can change, and this is inevitably seen locally as a decline,

but the use of textiles as gifts, as offerings to emphasize a relationship between two groups, is kept intact. I suspect that those girls who leave the village to go to school elsewhere, and who then follow a professional career, will hardly take up the traditional craft of ikat weaving. The village is losing population at the moment, and the indigenous way of life, though still strong, has to compete for attention with other, very different, occupations. I have no doubt that the people of Lamalera will survive rather well the impact of change; whether their traditional talents will as well remains to be seen. It can be said with certainty, though, that the new must be accommodated to what is known to have worked well for the community for many generations. A sense of order is basic to the village life, and the well-defined relationships between clans will continue to be expressed in terms of prestations, of which textiles are an essential part.

4. Conditions of Fieldwork.

Lamalera is still a very remote village. To reach it, one first has to go to Larantuka, in east Flores. From there, once a week there is a motor boat which goes directly to southern Lembata and stays at Lamalera. One can also take a boat to Lewoleba, Lembata's seat of government and largest market town. Such boats leave Larantuka each day. From Lewoleba there is a boat on the morning following the

weekly Lewoleba market, which travels via Lamalera to Labala. No road leads to the southern coast; at best a jeep can travel as far as Puor, on the slopes of the Labalekang volcano, and from there it is about a two hour walk to Lamalera. Once in the village, contact with the outside is limited to the arrival of the motor boat, once a week from Larantuka, once a week from Lewoleba. During the rainy season, it is sometimes impossible to travel by boat and the village becomes cut off. Apart from the vicarage, which has its own generator, there is no electricity in the village--at least there was none until and including our visit in 1982, although there were plans to bring in a generator for general use in 1983. Most people were sceptical whether it would actually materialize; plans for electrification had been made for several decades.

The village has a male nurse who, for a small fee, can provide bandages and plasters, malaria pills and vitamin injections. During our stay, we were often approached to give medical aid and advice, which we were not always equipped to supply. Medical care in rural Indonesia is a great problem, and in the remote regions of eastern Indonesia the next doctor is usually several islands away, with no transportation available when an emergency arises. People still rely on their village healers. Sudden illness and premature death are interpreted as a social rather than a physical problem, and are thought to be certainly due to

faults and behavioral mistakes in the clan.

During our three visits to Lamalera we have always stayed in the same house, a large, solidly built structure which was erected in the 1930's, but which has been standing empty for some time. Every clan has at least one lango bẽla, "big house", which is the sacred centre for the members who trace their origin to the same ancestor. All affairs which concern the group have to be discussed in this house, and ceremonies connected with the boat, or with marriage, or death, are performed here. Our house was one of the lango bẽla for the clan Lamakera, and therefore, although empty, it had to be kept up, and it could become our home for a small rent. As a lango bẽla, it had been built with all attention to prestige: stone walls, several interior rooms, and (added in later years), a zinc roof and a separate kitchen and bathroom. We would have preferred a more traditional building, and definitely found the roof too hot and also too noisy when the rains came. But we also found it important for our work to be involved in all activities which concerned one particular clan.

We had to bring all our own staple supplies into the village. We lived mostly on rice, but supplemented that with the maize which is mainly the local diet. Fresh fish was frequently available; otherwise we had dried manta ray, shark, or whale meat. Fruit and vegetables are seasonal: available in abundance for a few weeks, and then not at all.

When we first visited the area, we had no children yet, but in 1979 we brought with us our daughter, then four years old, and our son, who was only four months old when we arrived in the village. Our fair children were a constant source of delight and amazement to the villagers, and they were treated with great affection. The baby's first taste of solid food included the finely ground meat of killer whale, and he thrived on it. Both children also accompanied us on our visit in 1982.

During our stay in Kédang we had become well known on the whole island for our attempt to live as much as possible like the indigenous mountain population. It was generally accepted that we were interested in the local culture and in its expression in language and the visual arts. We found the people of Lamalera always ready to accept our participation in their activities and happy to provide us with information.

In Kédang we had learned the local language of that area; it was essential for communicating with the older people we primarily associated with. The language of Lamaholot, however, is quite different from Kédang. In Lamalera, we therefore mainly communicated in Indonesian, a language in which virtually everyone in the village is fluent. For our studies, though, it was of course essential to become familiar with at least certain aspects of the indigenous language, and by the time we left the village in 1982, we had reached a rudimentary understanding of

Lamaholot.

The indigenous language has been studied and analysed by Gregorius Keraf, who is an authority in two senses: he is a professional linguist and he also comes from Lamalera (Keraf 1978).

5. Sources.

In my research I could not rely on any extensive work on the textiles of the Lamaholot. Ernst Vatter has a separate chapter on the weaving and ikat technique of the Lamaholot (Vatter 1932: 217-226), and it contains some useful information. More recently Maxwell (1979 and 1981) has published material which is based on her own extensive travels through Flores and the Lamaholot area. Alfred Bühler, in an article published in 1959, was the first to point out the particular interest the textiles of the Lamaholot, and of Lembata in particular, would have for a detailed study of *patola* influences on Indonesian ikat design (Bühler 1959: 8). He expanded the material of this article into a chapter on the *patolu* export trade in his monumental book *The Patola of Gujarat* (Bühler and Fischer 1979). The study of reserve techniques for textile patterning was a life-long interest for Bühler, and he did pioneering work in this field, in particular on the topic of ikat decorations (see in particular Bühler 1943, 1972, 1979). His publications have been a major inspiration to my work; they have provided

me with a model for both scholarly detail and sensitivity to the visual quality of the object.

During the last decade, Indonesian textiles have become increasingly better known to a wide audience, due to numerous exhibitions in Europe and, in particular, in the United States. Of the many, one museum show must certainly be mentioned, as it especially seemed to catch the public's attention: the exhibition "Splendid Symbols: Textiles and Tradition in Indonesia", which opened at the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., in 1979, and was also seen in New York. It was accompanied by a catalogue prepared by Mattiebelle Gittinger, which provides an excellent introduction to the topic of textiles in Indonesia (Gittinger 1979a). It gives scant and faulty information on the textiles of Lembata, but that is due to a lack of published material.

In addition to the cloths seen in the villages, there are two museums in Europe which have extensive collections of Lamaholot textiles: the Städtisches Museum für Völkerkunde, Frankfurt a.M. and the Museum für Völkerkunde und Schweizerisches Museum für Volkskunde, Basel. Both collections are extensive and representative for the quality of cloth found in the area. The Vatter collection in Frankfurt comprises sixty-two pieces made in the Lamaholot region, plus three Indian patola he collected from Solor and Adonara. The Basel museum owns twenty-eight ikat textiles from the

Lamaholot, almost all of them from Lamalera, and one patolu collected on Lembata. A small collection of textiles from east Flores, Solor, and Lembata can also be found in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam and in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. The Museum voor Volkenkunde, Rotterdam, has two sarongs from Lembata. Illustrations 11 to 29 are a sample of the cloths found in the European collections.

CHAPTER I: IKAT AS TEXTILE DECORATION

Decorated textiles are the most widespread form of visual artistic expression in Indonesia. Throughout the archipelago, cloths are produced not merely to serve as articles of dress, but also to be used in certain ritual functions or to emphasize social distinctions. The importance given to textiles has helped to create an extremely rich area of fabric production, which excels both in the variety and quality of techniques and in the high standard of design. Here we shall deal with only one version of textile decoration, the ikat process, which however in Indonesia is the most commonly found method of creating patterned fabrics. It occurs in all parts of the archipelago, even if only in rudimentary form. In this chapter I shall attempt to give a preliminary account concerning both the ikat technique and the function of the cloth, with particular reference to eastern Indonesia. This will serve as a lead to questions which are raised in a very specific fieldwork study.

The technique itself consists in a process of decoration by which the thread is partly dyed before it is woven into cloth. The parts to remain undyed are "reserved" by binding them with material which is impermeable to the dye, i.e., it is a form of reserve dyeing which is

however not applied to the fabric (as one does with other forms of reserve techniques, e.g., batik, plangi, tritik), but on the yarn which is to make up the textile. The eventual design of the fabric then will be tied into either system of threads, warp or weft, or into both. In Indonesia one finds both warp and weft ikat, and one isolated but also very famous tradition of double ikat (which combines both forms). The name itself derives from the Malay word ikat: binding, tying (cf. the verb ikatkan, mengikatkan to tie, fasten, bind). It is of course a description of the reserve process. It was first introduced into a European publication in 1890, when it was used by A. R. Hein in Die bildenden Künste bei den Dayaks auf Borneo (Hein 1890). But it was the work of Rouffaer and his promotion of public interest in Indonesian design that made both term and technique more widely known (Rouffaer 1901, 1902; Rouffaer and Juynboll 1914a, 1914b). A universal survey of the ikat technique was first attempted by Bühler in "The Origin and Extent of the Ikat Technique" (1942). Further publications by Bühler gave an exhaustive account of the technical aspects of this form of textile decoration (Bühler 1943, 1972).

The ikat method has two characteristics which are always recognizable. First, it is impossible to make the division between colours so precise that they do not merge, or "bleed", into each other. The result is a certain softness of the design which is due to the dye penetrating below the

edge of the resist. Secondly, it is difficult to prevent the threads from moving out of position when they are being stretched on the loom, or during the actual process of weaving. These two characteristics usually lead to a slightly blurred design. According to my informants on Flores, Solor and Lembata, this is recognized as a technical fault that should be kept at a minimum. Preference is given to cloths which show a precise and clear design despite the obvious difficulties imposed by the technique: thereby the weaver can display how completely she has mastered the techniques.

The appearance of an ikat cloth also depends on the weave used. It is clearest if the system of threads which is not dyed by the ikat process remains invisible, as it does in a weave where the ratio of both thread systems is not equal, but where the threads with ikat designs are denser than the unpatterned fibre.[1] For double ikat, of course, both weft and warp must be visible; for that reason a loose tabby weave is used.

To prepare the thread for the tying and dying process, it is first set up on a frame. For warp ikat, the thread to be tied is set up in an endless warp, i.e., it is not set up in individual lengths, but wound continuously (Fig. 4, Ill. 56). Of course when setting up the threads on the

---

[1] For a definition of technical terms, see Appendix.

frame, one determines the length of the warp, as the pattern is then tied onto the threads and will have to be set up in the same way when the warp is transferred to the loom. The tie itself is usually done with a strong plant fibre. Bühler mentions that on Roti the ikat tie is made from palm leaves twisted with a spindle or rubbed into a thread by rolling them along the thigh (Bühler 1942: 1589). The fibre may then be treated with wax, which is supposed to increase the resistance.

Usually, more than one colour is applied to the threads, so it may be necessary to undo and retie different sections to protect or expose them to a new dye bath. If the finished cloth is supposed to show three colours--e.g., black/blue, red, and natural--all parts which are not to take on the shade of the first dye bath are tied. To keep these parts distinquished, a different number of knots is given to the last binding.

After the binding of all the threads, the tie frame is removed and the warp is held together by a cord. The yarn can then be dyed. Usually the application of one particular colour will have to be repeated several times if a deep hue is desired, and between each dye-bath the threads need to be hung up and stretched. After dyeing, there may follow a lengthy process of fixing, dressing, and stiffening the yarn before it can be placed on the loom; and heddle, shed stick, and the pair of cross sticks are

introduced.

Of loom types found in Southeast Asia, the body-tension loom is probably the most common. It consists, in its most basic form, of a warp beam, a shed stick and heddle, to create the two sheds, a sword which beats the weft into place, and finally the second beam, the cloth beam which rests in the weaver's lap (see Ill. 56, Fig. 3; the reader should refer to Chapter III for a detailed discussion of weaving on a backstrap loom). This is held in place by a backstrap, braced by the weaver's back. It is the weaver's body which keeps the warp tension taut, or relaxes it when releasing the alternate shed. The weaver sits on the ground, and the frame extends horizontally before her. The far end, with the warp beam, is fastened to poles or a tree. The width of the fabric is determined by her comfort and the size of the cloth beam, but it usually does not much exceed 80 cm.

In warp ikat, the weft is always of a uniform colour, and the weave is usually a warp-faced tabby, i.e. there are more warp threads per square centimetre than there are weft. This means that the weft is virtually covered by the warp and remains invisible. Lamaholot weavers use either black or red weft thread.

Weft ikat follows essentially the same steps which have been described for warp ikat, except that the length of the weft (tie-) frame will now correspond to the derived <u>width</u> of the fabric. As for warp ikat, the

resist is applied to several strands at a time. After dyeing, the weft thread is transferred to spools, ready to be used in weaving. Bühler mentions that on Bali, where cotton weft ikat is produced, only one colour, red, is applied by ikat proper, although this may appear in different shades. Any additional colour (usually green and black, rarely blue) is rubbed in with two sticks after the tie resists have been removed (Bühler 1942: 1602, ill.). These colour sections tend to spread unevenly and produce a "flamed" effect popular among the Balinese. The Balinese weft ikat is woven with a discontinuous warp rather than the endless warp common for warp ikat, and its threads are usually dyed red. When weaving, great care must be taken so that the weft threads harmonize with one another to form the desired pattern, and they may have to be moved back and forth until the design matches and is in its proper position. To help as a guideline, a corresponding place on each thread may be left white (undyed), or a white warp thread may serve that purpose. Judging from the appearance of weft ikat, it seems to be more difficult to achieve a precisely defined image. Weft ikat textiles typically have a far more blurred appearance than carefully made warp ikat. I have no personal experience with the technique, as it is not found in eastern Indonesia.

A combination of both warp and weft resist dye is the double ikat. In this, the process is greatly complicated

by the fact that warp and weft together form the design, and to match the dyed pattern of both thread systems makes it a most laborious and delicate procedure. At present, the technique is probably used only in Gujarat, West India, and in the village of Tenganan Pageringsingan on Bali. The double ikat cloths from Gujarat, known as patola, were traded into Indonesia in the early days of European trading companies, and they may have been available much earlier. The patterns of patola textiles had a profound influence on the designs of Indonesian cloths, but it is not certain that the technique itself was imitated. The double ikat of Tenganan Pageringsingan seems to be technically quite independent from its Indian counterpart. The cloths have recently been studied by Ramseyer (1975/76, 1977). The geringsing cloths of Tenganan are not only technically and aesthetically superb pieces, but they are also of great ritual significance, not only in Tenganan itself, but all over the island (see Korn 1960, Wirz 1931). The colours used are red, black/violet, and natural cotton. The dark blue or black comes from indigo, and it is applied first. This particular work is not done in Tenganan itself, but in the neighbouring village of Bugbug. Bühler (1943) mentions that the indigo dyers are considered to be of low social status.

1. Fibres Used for Ikat.

Cotton is the most common material from which ikat

fabrics are made. It is locally grown and readily available. To a lesser degree, silk is used, and finally there are rare instances of the use of bast or raffia fibre threads. Bühler (1942: 1608) gives a list of the world-wide distribution of the ikat variations and the material used for them. From it one can see that bast fibres are used only on warp ikat and are restricted to certain areas of Indonesia and Madagascar. As the Malagasy cloths show designs which also are part of Indonesian textile patterns, a comparative study would be most useful. For an initial review of the material, see Gilfoy (1980).

The pliable nature of cotton and its relative durability make it universally acceptable to weavers. In the Old World, the fibre originated in India, where a sample of woven cotton was found at Mohenjo Daro in the Indus Valley, a town settlement which dates to 1750 B.C. (Watson 1977: 359). From India, it spread to Southeast Asia and Indonesia at an uncertain date. Crawfurd already pointed out that while the word for cotton as found in the archipelago is related to Sanskrit karpasa ("cotton"), the terms connected with weaving seem to be indigenous (Crawfurd 1856: 445). If cotton supplanted an indigenous fibre, that would have had to be bast, or a banana fibre (Musa textilis, or abaca) which is a native of the Philippine Islands and the northern Moluccas.

The early cotton of India was a perennial plant, the Gossypium arboreum. The annual plant, Gossypium herbaceum, seems not to have appeared until the sixth or seventh century A.D. (Watson 1977: 359). It is the latter, which has to be

planted again every year and which matures quickly, that is universally used in Indonesia.

The spinning wheel is common in Indonesia, but still more frequently found is the hand spindle. With the exception of Lobe Tobi and east Solor, the spinning wheel is not used in the Lamaholot region. The advantage of the hand spindle is, of course, that it can be carried anywhere, and the sight of women walking to the fields or to market twirling a spindle with one hand and holding a fluff of cotton in the other, while they balance their goods on their heads, must be familiar to anyone who has travelled through eastern Indonesia.

Warp ikat is associated with cotton fibre. This generalization holds for Sumatra (Batak and Gayo countries, Lampong district), Borneo (Iban), Sulawesi (Toraja, Minahassa), Flores, Solor, Lembata, Timor, Sumba, Savu and Roti, and the far eastern islands of Leti and Kisar. On Java, where cloth is now usually decorated by the batik method, nevertheless a type of cotton warp ikat cloth is found, the kain kasang, which is used as a curtain necessary at certain ceremonial occasions. Cotton is also used for the weft ikat of south Bali, Lombok, Borneo (Malayan coastal districts), and Sulawesi (Limboto-Gorontalo), as well as for the double-ikat geringsing cloth of Tenganan.

Silk only rarely appears as warp ikat, the exception being fabrics of the Aceh (Sumatra) and Bangka (Sulawesi), who seem to have an ancient tradition of silk warp ikat, and

the Donggala (central Sulawesi), who however produce only a crude version of silk ikat, mainly for trade purposes. But it is the most common material used for weft ikat, and it is the medium for some of the finest products of ikat cloth in Indonesia. One may mention in particular the cloths from Palembang, Riouw, and Bangka, which provide artistic and technical feats of excellence.

Silk of course implies an influence from India, Further India, and China; so it is not surprising that it is found mainly in places which have had a long tradition of contact with these areas, through Hindu and Islamic trade contacts and cultural exchanges. Silk could only be incorporated into a local weaving tradition where trade contacts with China and India were continuous, as happened in the coastal areas of eastern Sumatra. There, in the seventh and eight centuries the kingdom of Srivijaya rose, which dominated international commerce of the straits for centuries.

2. Dyes and Dyeing Methods for Ikat Threads.

It is very difficult, often even impossible, to present a study of the precise composition of dyes and dyeing processes used in Indonesian textiles, either because the outside observer has not been able to identify all the components that go into the process (which can be especially difficult where only local names for plants are known), or because the dyeing procedure itself is associated with

religious beliefs and is strictly kept secret by those who do the work. Weaving and everything connected with it is usually restricted to the women of a community, and often knowledge of all the ingredients that go into making the final product is kept carefully guarded and is only transmitted from one generation of weavers to the other.

Mineral pigments are used almost exclusively for painting rather than dyeing, most commonly (as soot or coal) to mark a design before it is tied. Ferruginous mud is one of the most ancient pigments; it may be used for dyeing ikat threads in Indonesia and Madagascar. Soot and coal are occasionally used to produce dark tones; they are more commonly part of a dye bath which consists mainly of a vegetable product, as well as salt water and lime. They may also serve in the preparations of mordants for certain dyes.

Among animal products, the only one of great importance is the resinous secretion of the lac-shield-louse, which gives lac dye. Tones of red and blue manufactured from lac dye are used for textiles from India to Sumatra. The dye reached Indonesia in combination with silk, again as a part of the trade along the Southeast Asian trade networks. By far the most widely used of dye sources are plants. Among the plants exploited for dyes, Indigo fera is probably the single most important one. There is scarcely any form of ikat weaving done where indigo is not used to some degree.

It supplies all blue or black tones, the variation depending on the number of dye baths given. Red is the other popular colour desired in the decoration of fabrics, but the dye used for it is not as universal. Although lac dye is used for silk, much more common throughout Indonesia, and usually used for cotton threads, are various species of Morinda, Caesalpinia, and Cudrania, from which the wood, bark, or root is used.[2] These are genuine mordant dyes which may require complicated treatment with mordants prior to dyeing. The resulting colour is usually a rich reddish-brown rather than a bright red.

Apart from the natural colour of the thread (usually a yellowish beige by the time the product is finished), blue-black, and red, sometimes yellow and green occur. Yellow is achieved by using either Curcuma (turmeric) of Corthamus tinctorius (safflower), neither one giving a very fast colour, or a light variation of a Morinda or Cudriana dye (red-producing), which provides a much better colour fastness. Green is produced almost exclusively by successive dyeings with suitable tones (i.e., yellow and blue). However, it can also be made by crushing leaves and using the green plant juice (e.g., Lamalera does so).

---

[2] All three, as well as indigo, are described in Burkill (1935).

Before dyeing the yarn, it is sized. In Lamaholot, maize starch is used. The necessary preparations of the dye, the boiling of the extract, the preparations of the fibres for the dye bath, the necessary repetitions of dyeing, stretching, and drying make this the most time-consuming process in the textile production.

The dyes mentioned here provide the traditional ways of colouring fabrics, as they have been customary up to and into the twentieth century. They were common not only for ikat cloth, but for batik, plangi, and tritik (the other, more localized forms of Indonesian reserve dyeing), as well as for supplementary weft and warp weaving. The present century, however, has brought the wide-spread use of European chemical dyes which are easier to use and allow a much wider colour choice. Cloths dyed with them are now common both for day-to-day and festive wear, but nevertheless the traditional colours continue to be used for fabrics which have a function other than clothing.

3. The Use of Ikat Cloth.

The ikat fabric is first of all a piece of clothing. In eastern Indonesia, the traditional textile is most frequently used in the shape in which it comes off the loom, i.e. it is not tailored into a jacket, shirt, trousers or skirt.[3] If

---

[3] Some tailoring of traditional costumes does occur in other parts of the archipelago, e.g. the jackets worn by the Iban of Sarawak, several of which were collected by Haddon and can now be seen in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

the cloth is woven with a continuous warp, the final part, where beginning and end should meet, is left open, i.e. without a weft. This is a technical necessity: it would be impossible to insert the weft thread to the end, as long as cross and shed sticks, heddle and sword remain in the warp system. This open section may be cut; the cloth then forms a selendang or shawl, worn by men or women. If a wider cloth is desired, either to make a sarong, the tubular skirt worn throughout Indonesia, or an open blanket, such as the Iban pua, several panels of ikat fabric are sewn together to give the piece the necessary length (or width). The parts are woven separately, but in order to shorten the work, and to achieve a consistent and symmetrical pattern, the ikat of the warp is done simultaneously, i.e., one reserve tie serves the threads of two panels. The most extensive ikat decoration is found on the so called adat cloth, textiles which have functions other than dress.[4] Tietze (1941: 55), who has written on ikat work in Sika, central Flores, said that a woman decided after tying the pattern, but before starting to dye the threads, whether to use the ikat for an adat cloth or for a sarong which is worn daily.

---

[4] Indonesian adat: "traditional law, custom," the term includes concepts of law, religion, social behaviour, and moral standards, as they are defined by tradition.

The tubular sarong is the most common traditional women's wear in eastern Indonesia. It is found from Flores eastwards to the southern Moluccas, and on Sumba, Roti, Savu, and Timor. It seems to be not nearly as universal in western Indonesia, where a rectangular cloth is used to wrap around the body. The traditional men's cloth, however, has often a large, open format: cf. the hinggi of Sumba, the men's cloth of Timor, Savu, and Roti. The Lamaholot men, however, wear a tubular sarong. There, the sarong is usually between 150 and 170cm. long, whether it is for man or woman. It is now folded over to the required length and tucked in at the waist, and both men and women wear it with a shirt or blouse sewn from commercial fabric. Traditional dress used to exclude the latter, a woman fastened her garment over the breasts or on the shoulders, a man at the waist.

I have mentioned above that the cloth has an open part of warp when it comes off the loom. If the sarong is to be worn for festive occasions, this is usually cut and then sewn together. However, sarongs are also an essential part of the exchange of goods that takes place at the marriage or funeral of anyone in the community, and if they are to be used for that purpose, the Lamaholot have a prohibition on cutting this section.

The production of ikat fabrics is always restricted

to women. They gather the cotton, spin the thread, tie the reserve knots, dye the threads, and finally weave the cloth. In most communities where ikat cloth is made, all women can weave, and they will do so at some time in their life, if only to weave the cloth that is necessary for their own or their daughter's marriage prestations. However, areas especially well known for their products of ikat cloth may also create a class of weavers who work on a more professional basis, and who weave to order for others of the community (for example in Sika, see Tietze 1941). Payment will usually be in kind, in the form of maize, rice, or an animal. If the weaver moves into the household of the commissioner, she will be fed and treated like an honoured guest. Where the ikat cloth is a symbol of high status, e.g. on Sumba and Roti, the manufacture may be a privilege of the aristocracy, guarded and transmitted from generation to generation.

The finished cloth may be designed for women or men (e.g., the women's sarong of Flores and the Lamaholot, the men's hinggi from Sumba), but they are almost inevitably associated with the female side of the community. This becomes most obvious during the exchange of marriage prestations common to many eastern Indonesian societies. The marriage between two people calls for an elaborate system of gift exchanges which are often precisely described and set by the community. The gifts coming from the man's

family will vary from one area to the next; they may be purely symbolic, such as the elephants' tusks common in the Solor Islands. These have no other use but can express a man's wealth better than fields and animals. It will be said of a rich man, "He has so and so many tusks." They may also take the form of animals, such as water buffalo or goats, which will be slaughtered at the wedding feast. They can consist of rice, or even become a rather mercenary arrangement, such as a gift of money. The gifts from the woman's side, however, will always be cloth, usually the ikat textiles woven by the community's women. This is true even if the cloth is intended for men's wear, as are the hinggi of Sumba. The ikat cloth is therefore closely associated with the female side of the union, and this view is more consistently adhered to than in the case with the gifts thought to be typically masculine. This may be explained by the way weaving and the cloth itself are thought of in the community. It has been mentioned above that cloth to be used in bridewealth exchange may sometimes not be cut. It was once explained to me that the "endless" warp represents the continuous thread of kinship and descent, i.e., the vitality of the community itself. To cut it would be like interrupting the flow of life and severing an individual from his or her past and future. A similar idea is known on Bali: the double-ikat of Tenganan, the geringsing cloths, may not be cut if they are to be used in

Tenganan itself, as they would then lose their magical power and strength. Cloth that has been cut is used in other parts of Bali, however, where it is still believed to have great healing and purifying powers. To associate the cloth which symbolizes the marriage ties, i.e., the continuing life of the community, so consistently with women, agrees with the position the female takes in numerous Indonesian societies, as the source of life and continuity (cf. Jager Gerlings 1952: 76 ff.).

Apart from the use of cloth as bridewealth, it is commonly present at burials. Cloths which have been especially hoarded during a person's lifetime for this purpose may be put into the grave with the deceased. Ill. 30 shows a Rotinese couple preparing an initial stage to their own funeral; their coffins are lined with locally made ikat cloth. This display of cloth may be done in a very spectacular, even ostentatious, way, as happens on Sumba, but it should be noted that much less flamboyant societies also insist on the use of cloth in the burial ritual, and the underlying principle may be similar. Cloths may be included to provide something to wear for the deceased in the next world, or they may be used to represent, in illustrated form, objects treasured by the ancestors: i.e., symbolically represent grave gifts. But apparently they can also gather forces which help man to pass through rituals of transition. The magic quality of the Tenganan

geringsing cloth can only be understood in this way. It appears consistently at moments of transition (the first hair-cutting, the filing of teeth, at circumcision, marriage, and funerals), when the individual passes from one stage of his or her life to another. Adam's interpretation of the iconography of Sumba textiles is supported by the rôle cloths have at similar moments of transition: they depict objects which are associated with the passage of the soul to its ultimate destination among the ancestors (Adams 1969: 166-168).

On the other hand, cloth may be used to separate the dead from the living. In Kédang, Lembata, a black cloth is cut at a person's funeral, once for each living sibling of the deceased (Barnes 1974a: 182). Black is the colour of the living, and the cloth emphasizes that they belong still to this world. Similarly, the geringsing cloth of Bali is attributed healing powers in the event of illness, as its name "without sickness" already implies (Wirz 1931, Ramseyer 1975/76, Hooykaas 1978).

To conclude, it is clear that ikat textiles have a function which reaches far beyond that of dress and costume. They are treasured as such and are important indicators of social rank or status.[5] But furthermore, they are important

---

[5] This particular aspect of the ikat cloths in eastern Indonesia has so far been discussed by Fox (1977 , 1980) for Roti and Savu and by Adams (1969) for Sumba. As will become clear, it is also part of Lamaholot tradition. Gittinger (1979a) gives a pan-Indonesian survey.

as gifts, when they represent in particular the female aspect of society. And, finally, they are significant at a time of transition. This is manifested most clearly in the significance of cloths at funeral rites. In these instances, they lose their more mundane functions of clothing and become significant as symbols of a cosmic nature. That this use of ikat cloth is essential to its understanding, may finally be illustrated by the survival into this century of the kain kasang on Java, where otherwise ikat has become entirely insignificant. It had a simple design, but was very large; it was not to be worn, but used as a wall hanging at certain ceremonial celebrations (Jasper and Pirngadie 1912: 166-169, 262). Considering the religious and social significance of ikat textiles, it remains to be seen whether this function is reflected in the ornaments and patterns.

4. Ikat Design.

Ikat cloths usually display a symmetrical pattern. The warp is folded in half in order to be tied for dyeing, so that one gets a repeated pattern with one reserve tie. Thus, the design of one cloth panel, as it comes off the loom, is mirror-symmetric. In addition, the sarong decorated with ikat designs is usually made up of two panels which also are mirror images of each other: the completed garment makes

no distinction between "top" and "bottom", although particular sections of it are more emphasized than others (Fig. 11, Ill. 70). Either the border or the centre of the fabric is treated with a wide pattern. If the centre is picked out, the sarong will sometimes have three, rather than two, panels: this is found in central Flores (in the Lio cloth lavo manusia, Ill. 31 after Gittinger 1979a:171), in the Lobetobi district of eastern Flores (Ill. 29, from the Vatter collection), and on Lembata (Ill. 12).

The emphasis on symmetry found in ikat cloth is not otherwise necessary to cloth design in Indonesia. The supplementary weft palepai, the "ship cloths" of southern Sumatra, are designed to be seen like a picture hung up; and Javanese batik sarongs are always divided into two irregular parts, the kepala (head), with a geometric pattern (such as the tumpal, the elongated triangle), and the badan (body), the main decorative section.

All sources on the nature of ikat design stress the fact that the pattern depicted is traditional, i.e., is rooted in the ancient customs of the people who produce them. The designs may have counterparts in other forms of figurative representation in a particular society (e.g., Borneo bamboo carvings, Bali wayang puppets, and Sumba gravestone carvings all have counterparts in textile decorations), or they may be the only form of pictorial art found in an area. In either case, the patterns will be transmitted directly from one

generation of weavers to the other. Women will usually be so familiar with even the most intricate designs to be knotted and woven that they do not need any memory aid.

However, it is also very important to realize that although the elements of design which make up a traditional fabric are always the familiar patterns, nevertheless the weaver may choose from a range of designs. Her awareness of the traditional ways will identify her textile with a specific place, but nevertheless the cloth will never be an identical repetition of so many other fabrics that she may be surrounded with. Reports on the textile traditions of Indonesia tend to emphasize the rather rigid traditionalism which is imposed on the designer, and which she will accept as long as she works in the traditional mode. This is justified to a point, as she is given a set artistic language which she can depend on when arranging her motifs. But it is hardly ever stressed enough that this also implies a certain possibility of choice, and that a certain weaver may prefer a particular combination of designs over another. In some cases it might even be possible to discern a shift in taste or preference from one generation to the next, or from one decade to the other. The nature of the material, which is highly perishable, and sometimes also its function as part of the burial ritual, make it extremely difficult to establish such changes in attitude. Adams (1969) has shown that the cloths collected from Sumba, a textile

tradition which has been attractive to Europeans for some time, have changed slightly over the decades. She interprets the change as an aesthetic decline. For the Lamaholot, we have the well-documented collection made by Vatter in 1928 and 1929, which I can compare with my own material. The fifty years have had no impact on the adat cloth, but new designs have become part of the very active local weaving of non-traditional cloths. Outside influences on eastern Indonesian design are nothing new. To some degree, they must always have existed, although they will hardly have seemed as radical, and potentially as destructive, as the impact of twentieth-century technology and its needs.

5. Patola Cloths.

On Sumba cloths, we can discover motifs taken from early European contact, such as heraldic animals (lions, eagles) or Maltese crosses. They were adopted for their decorative value and were at times so successfully transformed that we no longer see them as particularly European. An example of outside influence which had a far more wide-reaching effect on the design and composition of ikat cloths was the impact of patola cloths from India (Ill. 32). These double-ikat silk fabrics are worn as wedding saris in their place of origin. They were imported into Indonesia from Gujarat, on the west coast of India, via Further India. Their presence in Indonesia is certain for the sixteenth to

seventeenth centuries, but is almost certainly considerably older. Bühler (1959) believes it possible that the cloth was traded by the fourteenth century.

The textiles came predominantly from Gujarat and from the Coromandel Coast (see Irwin 1955, 1956).[6] The Gujarati cloth of greatest esteem was the patolu, a silk fabric decorated with intricate patterns of double-ikat.[7]

Patola textiles were (and still are) much appreciated, and their designs have had a great impact on the appearance of many Indonesian textile traditions. There are few textile producing areas that were not in some way touched, and changed, by the impact of the patola trade. The specific manner of assimilating these influences could vary enormously. For example, the supplementary weft kain songket found in the Palembang region of Sumatra can be a

---

[6] Tomé Pires and Duarte Barbosa are two early European sources for the activities of the Indian merchants; both emphasize the predominance of the Gujarati traders, who brought both cotton and silk fabrics to Indonesia (Pires 1944; Barbosa 1921).

[7] Patolu (singular) and patola (plural): Gujarati for silk double-ikat cloth; cf. Bühler 1979, vol. 1: 6. For a discussion of the origin of the name, see idem., pp. 305-325.

literal adoption of both pattern and overall design stucture (Gittinger 1979a: plate 66). The same literalness is found in many of the warp ikat textiles of Roti (see Ill. 33). The Iban pua, large blankets decorated with warp ikat, on the other hand, have completely adopted the formal visual organization of a patolu and its colour scheme (including the green and yellow stripes of the long selvage), but have refrained from using the Indian motives. Kodi, in western Sumba, is another area where the overall arrangements of patola cloths are used in combination with local designs (Gittinger 1979a: ill. 121; see Ill. 34).

The original patola introduced to Indonesia often became prestige wear for persons of high rank, and it was their high social value that made them the models for indigenous versions of similar design (see Ill. 35 and 36 after Bühler 1979). In eastern Indonesia, patola-influenced designs were adapted to the indigenous cotton warp ikat, i.e., neither material nor technique was taken over. These cloths--like the original prototype--were often the privileged costume of the ruling class (see Fox 1977: 97 ff. for their use on Roti). But the patola designs were also influential in areas which are not particularly noteworth for their social stratification.

Indian fabrics have played a major rôle in the history of trade in Indonesia, both as objects of barter and to initiate favourable diplomatic and commercial

connections. Prior to European contacts with Southeast Asia, the spice trade was dominated by merchants from India, who could offer their imported cloths as the most important goods in exchange for cloves and sandalwood. The sixteenth and in particular the seventeenth centuries saw the height of patola imports into Indonesia. The Dutch East India Company tried to keep a monopoly on the export of patola from India to Indonesia. This was mentioned by Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who travelled through India between 1640 and 1660 (Bühler 1979: vol. 1: 323),

> Thirdly patola are made, which are very soft silk fabrics, dyed all over with different-coloured flowers, and the manufacture is in Amad-abat. They can be had for eight to 40 rupies. This is one of the good commercial articles of the Dutch, who do not allow anyone from the Company to sell them privately, and they transport them to the Philippines, Borneo, Java, Sumatra and other neighbouring [islands].

The export to Indonesia continued throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century, although it became increasingly less frequent. Some trade with patola still occurred in this century (Bühler 1979, vol. 1: 279).

Considering the long awareness Europeans have had

of the importance of these Indian cloths for many Indonesian societies, it is surprising that so far no detailed study has been made of the relationship between the original patola, the patola imitations, and the integration of the foreign patterns into indigenous weaving traditions.[8] I will try to address this particular question of how the external influence was assimilated and interpreted in one region in the later chapters of this work.

6. Geometric and Figurative Design.

In Lamaholot, the influence of patola is usually combined with motives of a different tradition. The women's cloths which can be used as bridewealth are dominated by patterns which are confined by narrow bands covering the entire surface. Although patola-inspired patterns appear, either in the border decoration, or in a wide central panel, these are combined with geometric or figurative designs which bear little resemblance to the Indian textile tradition. Patterns which seem abstract and non-representational often have names which associate

---

[8] Bühler's study of the patola of Gujarat (1979, vol. 1: 227-302) includes a chapter on the cloths as export articles. This is an excellent discussion of the history of the trade. I am here rather more interested in the local reinterpretation.

them with realistic objects or beings: e.g., the Lamalera patterns of "scorpion" (mekot) or "sirih basket" (befajak). Some of the more complex geometric designs appear in many eastern Indonesian traditions, or may be found throughout Indonesia. Ill. 134 shows a detail of a woman's sarong from Ili Api; the identical design appears on a warp ikat sarong from Kisar, Ill. 37. The Kisar cloth also shows some simple figures of humans and birds, as well as bird-and-rider. These figural representations should be compared to certain Lamaholot designs, such as ata dikan (Ill. 96) and jõ (Ill. 78), but also to East Sumba, the most prominently figurative of all eastern Indonesian textile traditions.

Of the patterns which are recognizably figural, a frontal representation of human beings is most common: these are found on Sumba, Timor, Kisar and Tanimbar, on Flores and in some Lamaholot traditions.[9] These eastern Indonesian examples of human representations have counterparts in the textiles of the Iban (Sarawak); they also appear on the palepai, ceremonial textiles from Sumatra. On the latter,

---

[9] The textiles of the southern Moluccas are hardly known; only from Kisar and Tanimbar have some cloths come into western collections, and very little indeed is published on them.

though, they do not necessarily appear in full frontal view. The frontally shown human figure is frequently related to warp ikat. It has been argued by Jager Gerlings (1952) and Schuster (1956, 1965) that some of the geometric patterns found on the Indonesian ikat fabrics are related to the frontal human figure: this particular question will occupy us in some detail in one of the future chapters. Both types of design--the figural and the geometric--relate to archaeological finds which have been made both in Indonesia and on mainland Southeast Asia. The textile traditions of the archipelago have been compared to the large bronze kettle drums of the so-called Dong-son type, to give them archaeological depth.[10]

---

[10] The site of Dong-son, in the Thanh-hoa province of North Vietnam, is no longer considered to be as important to prehistoric Southeast Asia as it was once held to be. The kettle drums found there of the type first systematically analyzed by Heger in 1902, are associated with the spread of bronze metallurgy throughout Southeast Asia.

Heine-Geldern (1937) was the first to connect the bronze objects found in Indonesia and mainland Southeast Asia with artistic traditions which survive today. He also tried to disentangle different modes of representation which he found side by side in traditional Indonesian art. He thus arrived at the contrast between the "monumental" and the "ornamental" style. See p. 290 for a discussion of his theories relating to style.

7. The Origin and Extent of Ikat.

Alfred Bühler in his publications on the origin and distribution of the ikat technique gives a thorough, if not exhaustive, list of the areas throughout the world where this method of reserve tie is found (Bühler 1942, 1943). It spans four continents; as a method of decoration it seems to be found everywhere--if only in its simplest form--where weaving had developed to a high degree. At present, the most ambitious use of ikat occurs only in Asia: in particular in mainland Southeast Asia, in Indonesia, but also in India and Inner Asia (Turkestan and Afghanistan). The material used is almost always cotton or silk. However, ikat is also found in Africa (Nigeria) and in South America, where it has occurred in Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, and Peru. Ancient, pre-European textiles with ikat designs have been preserved from the latter area, as has virtually every other method of textile fabrication and design. Nabholz-Kartaschoff (1969: 281) has undertaken an extensive study of ikat in northern and southern Europe which investigates both the technique and its historical distribution on the continent. Its introduction to Europe seems to have been through Arab and Middle Eastern contacts. Ikat designs flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, first in Italy, and later in France; an independent tradition developed in Scandinavia.

To determine the origins of ikat, it would be

necessary to make a careful study of the materials used, of the technical procedure, and of the relation of ikat to other methods of patterning textiles. This type of study is complicated--or even made impossible--by the fact that ikat may have fallen into disuse in areas where it was formerly important. In the rare instances of ikat cloth surviving in a historically precise context, it is often difficult to determine the place of origin, as it is not necessarily found where it was manufactured.

The most archaic form of ikat decoration is that applied to bast fibres, as it was still found in the 1930's in central Borneo, on the islands of Babar and Tanimbar, and on Madagascar. Only warp ikat is used for the bast fabrics; this and the fact that eastern Indonesia, where warp ikat is used most consistently and exclusively, also has all the simplest forms of thread manufacture and the simplest type of loom, led Bühler to believe that warp ikat is in fact the most original form of ikat (Bühler 1942: 1604). Weft and double-ikat then developed from it, and Bühler thought it quite possible that this development took place in Indonesia itself.

Considering the use of patterns which are rooted in ancient, even prehistoric, traditions, and the important ritual position textiles have in Indonesian societies, one must come to the conclusion that the ikat technique has been in use for a very long time indeed. But it is impossible

to state with any certainty what its actual age in the area is. The perishable nature of the material makes it extremely difficult to establish historical relations in other than the broadest terms. Technically, large areas of Indonesia favour warp ikat, which in Bühler's opinion is the most rudimentary form. The textile is made of cotton which is often locally grown and spun. The implements used are of the simplest kind (both for thread manufacture and for weaving), but the technique is highly successful in producing articles of superb quality. Both the very basic technical aspect and the high standard of the product point to the likelihood that one is dealing with one of the oldest areas of ikat manufacture. It must be accepted as a possibility that the technique was developed here. Whether other areas of ikat production evolved independently elsewhere or whether one can think of one single place of origin is a different question. If, however, ikat was introduced into Indonesia through outside influences, this must have happened very early, possibly before the introduction of cotton, as some warp-ikat using bast fibres was found in Indonesia.

As far as the extent of ikat production is concerned, it is clear that Asia, and in particular South, Southeast and Western Asia, have been and are artistically the most significant regions. Ikat is also produced in West Africa and South America, but it is in Asia in particular that

these textiles can give first-hand evidence of cultural influences and historical connections.[12]

It is against this general background that we can now begin to follow a detailed study of the production and use of ikat cloth in a particular area. My main focus will be on the village of Lamalera, on Lembata, which provides a particularly interesting example of a mixture of indigenous and external elements. Traditional Lamalera cloth combines abstract, geometric motifs with figurative representation and clear evidence of patola influence. By comparing it with the other important textile traditions in the area--in particular the Ili Api and East Flores cloths--it may be possible to discover the nature of historical change, both stylistically and iconographically. Any consideration of textiles in Indonesia will have to refer constantly to the many-layered function the cloth has. It is costume and gift, it reveals information as it covers, it passes on a message as it is displayed.

---

[12] Blust (1976: 34) has extended and refined Dempwolff's (1938) proposed Proto-Austronesian *tenun, "weave" and has shown the specific reference to cloth weaving, as distinct from the weaving of baskets, etc., because of the association with "loom". This development he sees as possibly convergent. He continues, "The conclusion seems inescapable that the loom was known to speakers of a language ancestral to at least Malay, the Batak languages and various languages of northern Luzon. A minimum time depth of 4,000 years would seem to be implied."

CHAPTER II: SPINNING AND DYEING

This chapter will give a detailed account of the preparation of thread in one village, Lamalera. During my stay there, I was able to observe and participate in all stages of the production, and as the conditions for the fabrication of textiles are relevant to the final result, it is my aim here to give a description of the whole process, beginning with the raw cotton.

All women of Lamalera can weave, and many have become experts at ikat tying. On the other hand, relatively few women weave regularly, day in, day out. It is very common for a woman to spin her own thread, prepare and dye the ikat sections, set up the warp on the loom, but let the actual weaving be done by someone else, because those who have constant practice in weaving will be able to finish the cloth much more rapidly. This, however, is only common practice for the making of ordinary women's or men's sarongs, which are worn for daily clothing or, with some adornments, for feast days. The adat cloth is made entirely in one household.

Because the woman's adat sarong is by prescription entirely indigenous, both for thread and dyes, and because it is the most complex piece of textile made in Lamalera, my description will often refer to it. The making of

ordinary cloth can be identical in all technical aspects, but it will usually include some store-bought thread or can be made entirely of it. The weaver may also use synthetic dyes.

1. Preparation of Cotton.

Cotton is the fibre most commonly used for weaving in Indonesia. On Lembata, it is grown in virtually all villages. Tietze (1941: 7-13) gives a detailed account of the ceremonial preparation of the field, of offerings of fish or chicken, rice and sirih-pinang, which are made on the site to the spirits of the dead in order to ensure a good cotton harvest. Both she and Vatter (1932: 217) stress that all labour done in connection with weaving, including the planting, tending and harvesting of the cotton, is in the hands of girls and women. Because Lamalera has little land, the women will have to get most of their raw cotton from the mountain villages. The white fluff of the cotton plant is obtained in barter with fish or salt and is brought home in wide baskets.

First of all, the cotton fluff has to be cleaned of the seeds and most obvious dirt, e.g., grass, leaves, and soil. I have seen this most frequently done by hand; while people sit together chatting, a woman may bring out a large basket of uncleaned cotton (kapak lolo, literally "cotton, leaf") and start picking up one fluff after the other, taking out the seed and other rough bits (Ill. 38).

It is the sort of occupation which can be taken up at moments of no other pressing work, and it is common for other women to join in and pick a few seeds themselves. This is called emi kapok lolo "to pick out, clean manually, raw cotton". However, if one wants to clean a lot of cotton at once, it is faster to use a cotton-gin, béa. Not every household has one, although there are several béa in the village. As with other mechanical devices, such as maize mills, it is common to share them. The béa is made entirely of wood (Ill. 40). To clean the cotton with a béa is called éa kapok lolo.

The cleaned cotton is not yet ready to be spun, however. It still forms compact little lumps to which small bits of dirt adhere, and to fluff it up properly, a cotton bow is used. This looks exactly like a small hunting bow and could be identical with the bows little boys use when they hunt for small sea animals near the surf. The bow is made from a split twig of flexible wood, and the string is the gebang-palm leaf fibre twisted into a thread. This very simple instrument works ingeniously well for its purpose: the bow is held over the cotton about to be fluffed, the string is plucked repeatedly, and the result is that the cotton fibres are picked up and fluffed into large, feathery bits. At the same time, all dirt is carried away, and one ends up with soft, white cotton which is now ready for spinning (Ill. 41). The cotton bow itself is called menu, the verb bu, i.e. "I fluff cotton" is goé bu (cf. Leemker

1893: 9, bu, "to blow").

All the thread made in the village is produced with a hand spindle, which is simply a stick with a disc at its base. The disc, properly called a whorl (also whirl, or wharve), serves both as a flywheel and as a base against which the thread is wound up. This type of spindle is among the most universal tools and has been found virtually everywhere where thread has been produced. The spindle can be held in the hand, supported in various ways, or dropped to spin freely. The last is how it is used in Lamalera. In Lamaholot, the name for the spindle is keduka. The shaft (keduka kajo) is made of wood or bamboo, the whorl (keduka nubang) may be of various materials; most commonly used are empty yarn rolls or the spinal discs of the shark. Often a groove is cut into the tip of the keduka kajo, which keeps the thread from slipping. At this point, the yarn is twisted into a loop called hogim kapok (see Fig. 1). This loop keeps the thread on the spindle.

The spindle is held between index finger and thumb of the right hand, while the left hand holds the unspun cotton. Fig. 1 shows the motion made by the two fingers to twirl the spindle. The motion itself is called pesel. As the spindle twirls, one gently pulls cotton wool down into the turning thread. As the thread shapes itself and gets longer, the spindle moves farther down towards the ground, and the spinner will have to undo the hogim kapok and wind

more thread onto the shaft.

In other parts of Indonesia the spinning wheel is quite common (cf. Vatter 1932, for its presence in the Solor Islands), but I did not find it in use in Lamalera. The reason for its absence may be practical: the women of Lamalera have to spend a lot of their time walking to the farming villages or to markets to barter their fish; to many this means daily trips into the mountains, and the portability of the spindle makes it a most suitable tool.[1] Wherever the women of Lamalera go, they will carry a keduka and a supply of cotton, so that they can make their threads while walking. A frequent sight on the paths of the area is a group of women carrying huge loads of staple foods on their heads and a spindle in their hands. This is so much accepted as the most characteristic appearance of Lamalera women that a wood carver in the village has made it the topic of his attempt to portray the women's role in the community (Ill. 43).

Once a spindle is full, the thread is unwound into a ball. This is done over a swift, which is a rotating thread winder, the menué. The menué is made from two large wooden poles interlocked crosswise, and with indentations to allow

---

[1] "The spindle, this simple device, can be used to spin every sort of fibre and to such perfection that it is a wonder that it was ever relinquished at all in favour of the spinning wheel. It was cheap to make, easy to store, and handy to carry around so that spinning could continue in conjunction with other work, indoors or out" (Baines 1982: 41).

for different-sized skeins of cotton (Ill. 44). It rotates around a central shaft which rests on a block support; in Lamalera usually a spinal disc of the sperm whale is used.

However, the thread comes off the spindle curly and entangled, due to the many tight windings around the shaft. To stretch it, a hand reel, belafa, is used. This is a device for skeining the yarn; it consists of a central bar and two crossbars, on which the yarn is wound (Ill. 45, Fig. 2). Once the cotton thread has been wound on a belafa, it is stretched and manageable; it comes off in skeins which are ready to be dyed. Before dyeing the yarn, it needs to be sized with maize starch, "to give the threads strength". Maize is crushed and boiled in plenty of water; then the water is poured over the skeins. Some women add a handful of chalk (burnt lime, apu) at this time. The sizing is called giri. The skeins are kneaded and vigorously worked in the starch solution, then stretched and hung up to dry. At this time, the yarns may be stroked with the husks of a coconut; the reason for this is made clear in the section below, on mordant dyeing (p. 71).

To dye cotton is hema.[2] Once the thread has been dyed and dried, the hanks are placed again on the menué and

---

[2] Hema literally means "to knead"; in the pottery village Nualéla, near Lamalera, the word is used to describe the kneading of clay and sand with water, which precedes the shaping of the pot.

wound into a ball. To wind the cotton off the menué is called pudu. The thread is now ready for weaving, and it will be stored in balls until needed.

Following this description, one will get threads which are spun and dyed in the village. However, for daily wear the women will often buy hanks of machine-spun cotton which have already been dyed. In this case, the hanks are only spread on the menué and wound into balls before they can be set on the loom. Virtually all women's sarongs, whether for ordinary wear or for adat purposes, will also be decorated with some ikat. Of course the ikat has to be applied before the thread is dyed, so in this case home-spun thread will be put on the ikat-frame when it comes off the belafa, i.e. before it is dyed. Ikat is also applied to white or pre-dyed store-bought cotton, and again it will be ready to be further processed once it comes off the menué.

2. Dyes and their Preparation.

Following the solidification of Dutch colonial rule and the arrival of Catholic missionaries early in this century, the village has had intense contacts with Western ideas and goods. The effect on cloth manufacture has been the introduction of machine-spun thread and synthetic dyes. The women of the village have been willing to adopt these changes (as has happened virtually everywhere in Indonesia), and it is rare nowadays to see a sarong intended for daily

wear which does not include some aniline dyes. The yarn is either bought already dyed, or it is treated at home with "warntex", the synthetic dye available from the shops and stalls in all market places.

However, at the same time there is still a general appreciation of natural dyes, and it is common for ordinary sarongs to include sections prepared in them. This is especially true for the strips of ikat decoration usually included. The traditional adat cloth has to be made entirely of natural dyes; it is not permitted to include even the smallest decorative stripe of store-bought bright colours. The colour scheme available from indigenous resources, however, is by no means dull. Subtle variations of the dye-bath, the number of immersions, and the hues available from different natural sources allow for a wide colour range.[3]

All the dyes indigenous to the area come from plants. Of greatest importance are the colours blue/black and red. Indigo produces all shades of blue to black. The bush from which the dye is extracted grows easily on the islands. I have seen fields which are used for the staple crop maize during the rainy season covered with the small, spiky plants

[3] Kajitani (1980) gives the best introductory guide to natural dyes used in Indonesia. Her account is concise, yet comprehensive, and offers essential information to the non-chemist or technician.

in July and August. It was explained to me that once the maize has been harvested, it is common to grow taõ, the local name for Indigo fera tinctoria. In Lamalera, it grows between the houses in the village. Like cotton, though, far more is needed for the village's textile production than is locally available, and the bulk of indigo has to be bartered for in the mountain villages. During the dry season there are few leaves on the bushes, and they are not collected until the rains have come and encourage further growth. This is also the time when the level of indican, which is the chemical compound producing the dye, is at its highest. For this reason, all indigo dyeing is done in the rainy season, and for this particular dye I have had to rely entirely on description. The indican is released by soaking the leaves or plants in water, which brings about their decomposition. The indigo dye itself is not soluble in water, it therefore has to be chemically changed into "indigo white". This is achieved by treating the slimy, dark-blue soaked indigo liquid with an alkaline solution. In Lamalera, this is achieved by adding lime, apu, pulverized calcined coral which is also used when chewing betel. After a few days, the muddy liquid turns into a clear greenish yellow: the indigo has been reduced to indigo white. The yarn can now be immersed; when it is taken out and exposed to the air, oxidation takes place, and the indigo white changes back into the insoluble indigo, which is blue. Repeated dye-baths can create a hue which is virtually

black.

I was told that in Lamalera the leaves of the plant are collected and soaked overnight in water. Some informants claimed that lime is added to the soaking leaves, while others said that the leaves are steeped in water for two nights, but the lime is only added to the liquid after the leaves have been strained. It is clear from all descriptions that the indigo leaves are discarded before the solution is changed to indigo white and the thread is immersed. The hanks of cotton are left in the dye-bath for one or two nights; they are then taken out and dried. After one dye-bath, the thread will be light blue. They can be used now if stripes of light blue are desired; these are a common feature of men's sarongs, and they are also used in adat sarongs as decorative strips without ikat design. However, most of the threads will receive further dye-baths, until they are dark blue. This colour is called "black", mitã̃, and forms an essential part of the colour trinity of the adat sarong, which is black, red, and white. The indigo dye is always applied first, before the red.

The fine traditional woman's cloth is dominated by a rust-red colour, called méã̃ ("red"). It is extracted from the roots of Morinda citrifolia. The Lamaholot word for morinda is kelorẽ́. Like indigo, morinda is available locally. All informants stressed the time-consuming efforts which are associated with morinda dyeing. Morinda citrifolia is a small tree, common to South and Southeast Asia. In

Indonesia, it is the primary source of red dye. My weaver friends often discussed the difficulties one can encounter when dyeing with morinda. The source of colour is found in the roots; but one root is not necessarily as good as the other. There are, I was told, areas which produce very good morinda and others where the product is usable, but inferior. It is very likely that the mineral contents of the soil are important to the quality of the dye. This particular variant, and the water used, which may contain iron or minerals acting on the dye, make it impossible at the moment to analyze effectively the process of morinda dyeing.

The tree grows wild in the forest; it is not planted. At the right time of year, in the second half of the dry season, women will go out to the woods to dig the roots (Ill. 46). The tree is dormant at this time, and then the roots contain the most intense dye. It also does the least harm to the plant to cut off some of its roots now, prior to the early rains of November which start a new cycle of growth. Care must be taken not to dig up too much, as that would kill the tree. At home, the roots are chopped up into very small shavings, usually not all at once, but bit by bit according to need. The outer layers of the roots contain the most intense dye.

The wood chips are mixed with boiling water, lime (apu) is added, and the liquid is allowed to soak overnight. This will extract the red dye, as the lime provides the

alkaline solution. Morinda is a mordant dye, i.e. in order to bond the colour with the fibre, an additional agent is needed. Kajitani (1980: 318) has compiled the information and arrived at the following result, "The mordant for morindone [the morinda dye] in Indonesia is a mixture of oil, alkali, and aluminum". In the literature on dyeing in Indonesia, much attention has been paid to the complexity, and often secrecy, involved in the red dye process. The more surprising was it for me to discover that not only were women ready to let me share in their thread dyeing and were willing to talk freely about all aspects of it, but that at least in Lamalera the morinda dye process seemed very simple with relatively few steps to follow. The whole process takes a very long time--years in fact--but it did not seem bewilderingly complex to me. The "secret ingredients", the mysterious ingredients mentioned by Bühler (1948: 99), were missing in Lamalera. A close reading of Kajitani's account may provide some answers to the apparent simplicity.

Very important to the bonding of dye with fibre seems to be the pre-mordanting, with oil, alkali, and aluminum. It was mentioned above that when sizing the yarn, some weavers mentioned adding betel chalk, i.e. calcined lime. The same is used to make an alkaline solution when the red dye is extracted from the root shavings; here the lime provides the alkali needed for the mordant, as well. The vigorous stroking of the stretched, sized yarn with the

coconut husk adds the oil. The aluminum has puzzled me. The dyeing has to be done in the large earthenware pots which are made in nearby Nualêla from local clay mixed with some very fine volcanic earth. The most common compound of aluminum is in volcanic soil. Could the prescription for using certain pots have a practical reason? On Solor I saw the dyer add the dried, powdered leaves of the roman tree to the dye bath; I have not been able to identify the tree, but it is likely to be the source of aluminum needed in the mordant combination, such as symplocos fasciculata, mentioned by Kajitani (p. 312).

After the dye has been extracted from the chopped morinda roots, the prepared yarn is immersed the next day (Ill. 49). The water is not heated. The threads stay in the dye vats for two nights. They are then taken out, hung up to dry, and dyed again. The old dye bath is not thrown out yet, but topped up with more morinda shavings (a handful or two at a time) and a coconut cup of lime. After one immersion, the colour is still very light, just a pale pink. As the desired tone is a deep rust colour, the process has to be repeated many times. The dyeing with morinda is by far the most time consuming aspect of the preparations which may be involved in the making of a textile. It is believed that in order for the colour to merge properly with the fibre, it has to be given time to sink in, and the partly dyed threads are set aside again and again to keep for yet another

year, when the depth of colour will be further improved on.

However, there is a second source available for red dye; this is locally called tenor.[4] It also is from a tree, but unlike the keloré (Morinda c.), here the bark gives the dye substance. Tenor is not available in the vicinity of Lamalera, but comes from the Ili Api region in the north of the island. Ili Api is too far away to be included in the women's traditional areas of bartering, and the bark is usually bought on market days in Lewoleba, the island's seat of government and main trading centre. I have seen women from Ili Api and Adonara, the neighbouring island across the strait, offering large bowls full of tenor bark at the price of 250 Rupiah per bowl. These bowls are a standard measure in eastern Indonesia; they hold approximately 10 liters, or 2 ½ gallons. At the present exchange rate, a woman from Lamalera can bring home a whole bowl full of tenor for one strip of dried fish.

It is considerably easier to extract the red dye from the tenor bark, and the colour achieved after only a few immersions is deeper than keloré. Consequently the complete process is much less time-consuming. A woman who

---

[4] Although I have root and bark specimens of both keloré and tenor, it has not been possible so far to identify the latter. I have never seen the tree.

wants to start the tenor dye-bath will sit down with a basket full of bark bits and crush them between two stones. The larger of the stones will sit in a flat basket on her lap, the piece of bark is placed on it, and the smaller stone crushes it. The action is identical with grinding maize or coffee; the small, ground bits are collected in the basket. To further break up the bark, it is then pounded in a rice mortar, usually a stone with a deep hole and a long, wooden pestle. The tenor is then quite fine, much like ground coffee. In the meantime, water will have been heated to the boiling point and is now poured into the large earthenware pot reserved for red dyeing. The time I observed the whole process about 10 liters of water were used. The pounded tenor bark is then added to the pot. In this case, it measured three cups full. To the liquid half a cup of lime was added. As usual, the lime was the same as that used for betel; it was, in fact, taken out of a sirih-pinang basket. All is then stirred well. As long as the dye-bath is still hot, the hanks of thread have to be immersed (Ill. 51). In this case, the woman had quite an assortment ready; some were still white, some pink (i.e., they had been dyed once already), another was already deep red. She also had a section of ikat threads ready which had already been dyed black and now were retied for the red dye-bath.

Then the hanks of cotton were stirred around in the pot and taken out one by one again to loosen the strands

a bit, so the dye could reach all threads. By now, the pot was quite tightly packed with various hanks. The thread has to stay in the pot overnight. It is then taken out the next morning and hung up to dry. The cold dye liquid is saved and topped up again the next afternoon, as described above, before the hanks are reimmersed. I could observe that already after three nights of dyeing the formerly white thread was dark red.

Despite the high colour intensity of the tenor, and the fastness of the dye, virtually all my informants mentioned the quality of tone and the even greater colour-fastness one supposedly achieves with morinda. The red of the tenor dye is slightly darker and not quite as luminous as the morinda. Many women considered it not appropriate to use tenor for the traditional bridewealth sarong. It is the quick results one gets which were precisely what most of my friends found unsuitable. One afternoon I was watching a woman dyeing with morinda. She squatted in front of her dye vessels and filled them with prepared ikat skeins and plain (untied) thread, all of different colour intensity and therefore of different age. Some of the thread had already been dyed with indigo and was now soaking up the rust-red dye, some of the plain thread was still light pink, some already deep red: those yarns which were being completed this year she had worked on for at least five or six years. The making of adat cloth, she said, is not to be rushed; the textile is made to

be kept for long, and therefore it is not proper to be in haste about it. This pace of work is antithetical to Western experience and outlook, and the time involved startles or at least impresses us greatly. The woman working on the textile is not overawed by the time it will take her to finish one cloth, as she does not labour with her intentions fixed on the complete goal.

Besides kelorẽ and tenor, a third source for red dye is the hepã tree (Caesalpinia sappan, Brazil wood).[5] The core of this tree is bright red, and I was told that it can be chopped up into shavings, which are soaked in hot water, with lime added; threads dyed in the liquid will then turn bright red. However, the colour is supposed not to be very fast, and the brightness of the red makes it not suitable for the adat cloth. Although the tree is readily available and commonly used for repair work on the boats, it is hardly ever used for dyeing threads. The hepã chips are otherwise used for brewing an aromatic tea. The tree gemoli is yet another source for red. It is supposedly used in Larantuka, Flores instead of kelorẽ. I have never come across it, though. In the Ili Mandiri villages of east Flores, close to Larantuka, morinda is used.

---

[5] The Brazil wood was once a very important part of the European trade with the East. It was introduced in the Middle Ages and used as a dye (Burkill 1935: 386).

The other vegetable dyes available are to obtain yellow and green; both colours are used in small stripes, without ikat decoration, on the traditional women's cloth. Yellow (kuma) comes from the turmeric root. The turmeric dye lacks colour fastness; to increase its durability, the thread is usually dyed with morinda first. One woman I knew used a wood, kajo kuma, to obtain yellow dye. It comes from a hard tree, bits of which have to be traded for from Adonara or Flores. It seems not to grow on Lembata. The wood is again chopped up until it is very fine and is then soaked in water, without added chalk. The water should be cold. Again, the dye-bath has to be repeated several times.

The source for green (kẽo) also comes from a tree; this time the leaves are used. The source is pohon ata (in Indonesian), called dolima or teluma in Lamalera. The leaves are crushed, then soaked with chalk in water. Some turmeric root is added. The green is not very bright, but it seems to be quite colour-fast. Green may also be achieved from an indigo base. The thread is dyed twice with indigo, which gives a light blue result and then with teluma. A very bright green can be made by crushing the leaves of certain beans (utẽ kẽda or padẽ lolo) and adding some turmeric. The colour is too bright to be suitable for the adat cloth. A sarong dyed in these natural colours will withstand a year or so of daily wear before it begins to look faded.

The adat cloth of course is rarely or never worn, and pieces which are many decades old retain their colours perfectly. It is never possible to tell from its colours alone how old a piece might be; I have been shown cloth which has been in the possession of a family for generations, yet the intensity of colours is identical to pieces made only recently. To date a piece of cloth, the state of the colours is of no immediate help.

Dyeing the threads is entirely in the hands of the women of Lamalera. Whenever I asked whether a man, or even a small boy, might participate, I was told that this was not done. However, I was also assured many times that there was no prohibition associated with dyeing. Men or boys were not strictly prohibited from participating; it was just not "man's work". Again and again I was told that the women's part in the day-to-day running of the household was to barter the fish for staples, and to produce cloth if they were inclined to do so, while the men went out to sea. Boys were trained to follow their fathers' example from an early age on, while girls assisted their mothers, both in the various stages of cloth production and in the trading of meat. Dyeing would be the first activity relating to cloth production which a little girl joined in; I was told several times how much fun it is for a small child to meddle with the dyes and get her hands all covered in red or black. My own four-year old daughter joined me when I participated

in the dyeing with tenor, and her pleasure at getting her hands covered with red was much commented on as being a typical experience for Lamalera girls. The dyeing usually takes place in or near the house, somewhere near the hearth, so that water can conveniently be heated. If a separate kitchen hut is part of the household, the dye pots are likely to be kept there, as well. Bühler (1943) mentions that on Roti magic symbols are attached to the pots themselves, to make sure that the strength of the dye is not interfered with by evil spirits. Nothing of the sort is found in Lamalera. Nor is it believed that menstruating women may not work on the dyeing process, which is also reported by Bühler on Roti. He also mentions that the details of dyeing are a closely kept secret. This is in contrast to my own experience. I was welcome, not only to observe and discuss, but to join in the various activities of dyeing. As I collected many independent accounts which all agreed in their details, I have no reason to believe that the Lamalera women are guarding secrets which they did not want to reveal. Following their advice and instructions, I have dyed my own yarn successfully. Everyone I approached was willing to tell me all the ingredients that go into the preparation, and to give me a step-by-step account. But of course as an outsider, I was in an unusual position. Women may actually be reluctant to apprentice young girls in their art if they do not belong to their household. One of my best informants,

who became an orphan when she was very young, said she had to learn how to prepare dyes the hardest way, by having to try various methods and preparations on her own, and it took her many years and quite a few failures until she developed her own methods and had results which both pleased her and were successful from the technical point of view. Although the ingredients which go into the preparation of dyes are common knowledge, the actual procedure is something which is passed down from mother to daughter, to be learned from experience rather than something openly discussed.

CHAPTER III: THE LOOM

Throughout eastern Indonesia the body-tension loom is used, and the Lamaholot are no exception. Gittinger describes the five categories of body-tension looms found in Southeast Asia (Gittinger 1979b: 54-55). In all five types the weaver controls the tension of the warp with her body, rather than having it supported by a frame. It is by its very nature a horizontal loom where the cloth stretches out in front of the weaver. Fig. 3 shows the general characteristics common to all body-tension looms. The warp is stretched between two beams: the warp beam at the far end (a), and the cloth beam (b) which sits in the weaver's lap. The cloth beam is attached to the weaver with a backstrap (c), which she leads behind her and ties to the beam; another name for this type of loom therefore is "back-strap loom". Other parts typically included are the heddle rod with string heddles to raise one set of warps (d), and a large shed stick (e) which is used to create the alternate shed. A flat, bladelike stick, the sword (f), is used to beat the weft. Beyond these general requirements, regional variations begin to occur. The lease rods or cross sticks are frequently used, but they are by no means universal. They assist to keep the warp threads in their

proper order, which is very important if a loom is rolled up to be stored away, as is always done with the body-tension loom. In Lamalera, the cross-sticks are used when the warp is set up, but they are taken out when weaving begins.

The simplest forms of body-tension looms need no further implements. The warp is continuous, i.e. is wound in an endless thread around both cloth and warp beams. Wherever this type of loom is used in eastern Indonesia, the warp beam is fastened, either to a tree or to posts in the ground.[1] However, in what seems to be the most archaic type of body-tension loom, the warp beam is supported by the weaver's feet. It is restricted to areas which are marginal to maritime Southeast Asia: to Taiwan (Nettleship 1970), Hainan Island (Stübel 1937), Sarmi Island off the coast of New Guinea (Goslings 1928/29: 119), and to some of the upland Mon-Khmer peoples of mainland Southeast Asia (Ill. 53). It is very interesting, in light of this distribution, that the same type of loom is shown in two representations of weavers, to my knowledge the only bronze weaver figures in Southeast Asia. One is from Shizhaishan, a burial site on Lake Tien which is associated

---

[1] The simple body-tension loom is universally used from Flores eastwards, and on Sumba, Timor, Roti and Savu. Gittinger reports a loom closely related to it, but using a reed as a warp-spacer, from west Flores (1979b).

with the western Han empire, 206 B.C.--A.D. 8 (Vollmer 1979). The other is a bronze figure discovered in East Flores (Adams 1977). In Chapter XIV I will discuss in detail how, in my opinion, the latter find fits into the local artistic tradition. In respect to the foot-braced body-tension loom, though, I want to point out briefly here that although the Lamaholot loom has an independently fastened warp beam, the foot rest is tied to the same posts as the former, so that the restriction to the warp dimension imposed by the foot-braced loom is kept.

The advantage of the body-tension loom is its portability. It can easily be taken down when no work is in progress, and can be carried around if need be. The whole loom comes apart into a neat bundle of sticks and light beams. Also, work in progress can be interrupted, and the loom rolled up and stored away until the weaver has time to continue her task.

1. Weaving on a Lamaholot Loom.

The following description should be read with Fig. 4 at hand, to make the terms visually understandable. In Lamalera, the warp beam, i.e., the far crossbeam (4 a), is usually tied to little posts stuck into the ground and held down with rocks. These posts stay put even when the loom is removed, either to be stored away or to be taken elsewhere temporarily. The weaver usually chooses a place outside, near her house and shaded by a tree. It is often cooler to be out in the open during the heat of the day, and it is also more sociable. While she sits down to

work, friends will usually sit with her and chat while they spin, clean cotton, wind thread, or do domestic chores which can be done outside. Occasionally a woman may also carry her loom down to the beach and work in the shade of the boathouses while the boats are out at sea (Ill. 56). This is especially popular during the second half of the dry season, when the heat of the day becomes often quite oppressive and the slight breeze from the sea gives a welcome relief.

When a weaver starts her work, she will first fasten the warp beam, pola (4 a), by tieing it firmly to the posts. The continuous warp thread, or partly woven cloth, stretches between this beam and the cloth beam, tenané (4 b) (the word also means "to weave"). The collection of sticks and beams which makes up the complete loom is called tenané pola, i.e. "the cloth beam, warp beam".

When the weaver has spread out the warp, she sits down, with her legs stretched out so they firmly touch the foot rest, teněka (4 c). The cloth beam (4 b) lies in her lap. It has a groove running along its full length, the tenané fefã ("cloth beam mouth", 4 d). The warp or cloth which goes around the cloth beam is held in place here: the weaver inserts a bamboo stick, napi (4 e) over the textile and the beam is turned 180 degrees, away from her, so that the pressure of the cloth keeps the bamboo stick in place (Ill. 56 and 60).

Now she is ready to "fasten the backstrap", palis seligu, a phrase which refers to the beginning of weaving.

The ropes attached to the backstrap, seligu tali (4 f), are tightly wound aroiumd forked indentations at both ends of the cloth beam. These are called tenané ipã (4 g, ipa: "tooth"). The backstrap itself, seligu (4 h), is woven of lontar leaves.

By being thus tied into the loom structure, between backstrap, clothbeam, and footrest, the weaver has complete control over the warp tension. Lamalera cloth is woven in tabby weave, which means that each warp passes over one weft and under the next: the warp threads alternate one by one, between heddle (4 i) and shed stick (4 j). The heddle, guru ("guide") is a string inserted into the warp system which catches every second warp thread. It also leads around a stick, the heddle rod, guru kajo ("wood of the guide", 4 k), which makes it possible to lift the string heddle. On the far side of the heddle, from the weaver's position, the warp runs alternatively over and under the shed stick, fulo béla ("large bamboo"). The weaving requires the heddle and shed system to be raised alternately; for each a different tension is needed. This is done as follows.

1. Ékok: the shed stick (4 j) is pulled up below the heddle rod (4 k) and is moved backwards and forwards. The weaver has to keep a strong tension, i.e. lean back firmly while pushing her feet against the foot rest. The warp threads connected with the string heddle are thereby pushed down, the warp which is led over the shed stick is

brought up (Ill. 59). When the warp has been raised, the weaver inserts the sword, huri (4 l), pointed end first. It is beaten against the weft and is then turned on its edge, thereby creating a gap through which the next weft thread can be inserted. The weft threads, beloé, are passed through the warp system with the help of thin bamboo sticks on which they have been wound. These weft sticks are called fani (4 m, Ill. 61). No proper shuttle is used. The sword is again beaten down firmly to force the weft thread into place (Ill. 56). The rôle of the sword, therefore, is both to widen the gap between the already separated warp threads and to beat the weft into place.

2. Tié: this brings up the heddle warp. Now the body tension has to be released and one leans forward to loosen the warp tension. A bamboo pole, tenié (4 n), is placed on the warp behind the shed stick (4 j). The shed stick with its warp threads is then rolled over the tenié with the right hand, while the heddle rod (4 k) is lifted with the left (Ill. 60). The sword is pushed through, and one continues as above.

At the beginning of weaving a cloth, once two rows of weft have been completed, a thin stick is inserted, called belébé (4 o). It follows the warp/weft relation of the tabby weave; its function is to keep the beginning of the woven cloth tightly together. As the cloth increases in length, a spacing device, called a temple, nugi (4 p)

is used. This is a thin bamboo stick which is notched at each end; it stretches the width of the newly woven fabric and prevents the warp from curving inwards under the tension of the weft. It is taken out every ten centimetres, approximately, and reinserted at the very beginning of the newly woven cloth.

The weaver always works close to the cloth beam. Therefore, when she has woven a certain amount, the completed cloth has to be moved. She unties the backstrap, unrolls the single turn of warp over the clothbeam, and removes the stick which had been inserted into the groove (see above, p. 83). She now can move the woven part up over the cloth beam, fasten it again, and continue the weaving.

A small metal tool nolo (4 q), which has a very sharp point, always stays in the weaver's lap, resting on the cloth just completed. It is essential in picking out threads which have gone astray and in following a mistake to the source. It is most important, furthermore, when one weaves a cloth which has been dyed with ikat patterns. Then, the weaver has to stop every few centimetres to readjust slightly any threads which have moved out of line. If this were not done, the pattern would appear blurred. One picks one thread of warp at a time and pulls it through the weft into its proper position. Of all the different activities which go into the making of an ikat cloth, I found this one the only really strenuous work. It is a great strain to the eyes and is, in my opinion, most tedious. The weaving on the body-tension loom, on the other hand, which is often described as

strenuous and back-breaking, was pure pleasure to me: sitting in the shade of one of the boat houses, cooled by the sea breeze, and surrounded by friends who carried on their own work while we chatted, occasionally breaking off for a snack or a brief betel-chewing--what a pleasant way to spend a day.

Of all parts of the loom, the sword is considered the most precious. It has to be both hard and very smooth, so the material for it has to be well-chosen. Most commonly it is made from the core of the tamarind tree (tobi), a dark and very hard wood. One sword I saw was made of whale bone, carved by a formerly prominent man in the village for his sister, now a very old woman (Ill. 57). A sword is passed from mother to daughter and is quite likely to survive other parts of the loom, which can all be replaced quickly, with the exception of the cloth beam, which needs a certain amount of carving. A sword is usually made for a woman by a close male relative; it is always a gift rather than part of a barter exchange. The different parts of the loom are rarely made by one person only. Typically, a woman will approach several relatives and neighbours, or even someone in another village.

2. Setting Up the Warp.

Both for weaving and for ikat tieing the first step is the setting up of the warp. For this, the loom

is turned into a frame with four sides, in order to keep warp and cloth beam at equal distance and keep the tension of the warp threads consistent. Therefore, two wooden or bamboo poles are set up between warp and cloth beam: the nuda (Fig. 5). One nuda is tied to both beams, while the second is held by tension alone and is moved along as the weaver increases the width of the warp threads.

The person doing the warping will squat between the two beams, facing one of the nuda. The warp thread, called nekat, is wound continually from cloth beam to warp beam and back, thus creating an upper and a lower warp. The warp thread is wound from a thread ball which can move around freely in a coconut cup. The heddle rod, string heddle, and shed stick are inserted into the upper warp, simultaneously with the cross sticks. The latter are two thin sticks made from the ribs of gebang palm leaves, hence their name ketebu riuk, "gebang palm leaf ribs". Their purpose is to keep the alternating warp threads apart and to maintain the proper order of the warp. They are an important technical aid in a loom which is not static, but which can be rolled up and stored away. In Lamalera, they are used only during warping.

All of these devices create the shed and therefore determine the weave. Fig. 6a shows the position of the heddle rod, the shed stick next to it, and the string heddle, which is allowed to unroll freely from a bowl over one of

the nuda, the temporary frames of the loom. The string heddle is a white cotton thread; it is led to the heddle rod over a bamboo pole which lifts it above the warp thread. The warp thread runs alternately over and under the shed stick, and the string heddle catches the latter. The particular position of the shed stick ensures an even length of all heddle loops. The warp has to be pulled tight every few rounds to ensure an even tension; this is done by making a stroking, pulling motion with both hands, téta nekat, "stroking the warp" (Fig. 7). When the warp has reached the desired dimension, the end of the last round is tied into the preceding one.

Warping the thread for one panel of a sarong or for a shoulder cloth is the work of one day, typically. The shed stick which is so far combined with the heddle, is now removed, but reinserted behind the heddle, towards the warp beam end. This is done with the help of the sword. The bamboo stick napi is then inserted into the goove of the cloth beam, thereby locking in the warp. The temporary frame is untied, and the warp is rolled up. The

work has finished for the day.

CHAPTER IV: THE IKAT PROCESS

1. Setting Up the Thread.

The warping frame--consisting of warp beam and cloth beam supported by two bamboo poles, nuda--is also the starting point for producing ikat. In Lamalera, ikat design is called mofa. The verb "to ikat" is bofa, i.e., "I am doing ikat" is goé bofa. As the design is tied into the warp, the length of the individual design sections has to fit into the loom they are later to be woven on. For this reason, the threads about to be treated with ikat are set up first of all on the loom itself. The woman who wants to ikat sets up her cloth and warp beams with the two bamboo poles. She then starts to wind the continuous warp from cloth beam to warp beam and back. After a few turns two sets of cross stick are inserted, one set at the cloth beam and the other near the warp beam. These have the function to keep the ikat skeins separate. For weaving, every alternative warp thread is caught by the heddle. If the warp is set up for ikat, however, the string heddle and shed stick divide it into skeins of six threads. At this stage, the shedding devices have only this function. The tabby weave shed is only created when the completed ikat warp is set up to be woven.

In order for the pattern to show up on the finished cloth, several warp threads have to be tied together. The number, six, is prescribed by tradition, although I have

been told that occasionally someone might use only four warp threads for each ikat knot. I have not actually seen this done. An uneven number of threads would not be acceptable. The design will therefore show six consecutive warp threads in one colour, and as the smallest and most frequently used tie corresponds roughly in length to their width, the whole pattern is made up of little squares. It is characteristic of Lamalera cloth, and indeed of all traditional sarongs coming from the Lamahelot area, that these small segments remain an essential part of the overall design. This puts them into immediate contrast with the cloth of, e.g., Sumba, which uses large fields of colour and design. The ikat pattern is therefore made up of several skeins of six threads each. These are called kenumak. They have to be uneven in number. In Lamalera, the smallest possible number is three (kenumak telo), then follows five (léma), seven, and so on. Three and five skeins are used for small ornamental borders only, as they are no more than 2 cm. wide. For wide design bands with named patterns, at least seven skeins are needed, and the number may go up to thirty-three.

Kenumak is the word used for the skeins once they are ready to be tied, and it is from then on employed to count the size of a pattern. While the warp is being set up, however, the appropriate term is kulu nému, which means "six seeds" (kulu, "seed", nému, "six"). Kulu nému will become a unit to be tied with the ikat thread, i.e. a kenumak. The cross sticks which in tabby weave help to separate the alternate warp shed here separate one skein from the other,

rather than every other warp thread. Because the kenumak will have to be uneven, the kulu nému is set up accordingly, i.e. in groups of five, seven, etc. While setting up the warp, the weaver has to keep checking the even tension of the threads, as described for warping (above, p. 87).

Once the complete warp has been set up, the sword is inserted and the shed stick near the heddle is removed. The shed stick is then reinserted into the warp, with the help of the sword, between heddle and warp beam. The woman now sits down at the cloth beam, and behind the two cross sticks at this end she inserts a loosely woven weft, to a length of six to ten centimetres. The weave follows of course the shed opening, going 6--6, a double weft thread being used. This particular section will not be tied with ikat, but will be the large section left undecorated and free of weft even in the finished cloth. As has been mentioned previously, the woven piece can either be cut here to be sewn together, or, if it is to be used for bridewealth, it will provide the open part called ratã̃ ("hair"). To insert the loose weft threads at this point is called fani di ratã̃, "putting weft into the hair".

The weave covers, of course, both upper and lower warp. Because it makes the necessary divisions between the ikat skeins, the string heddle and rod can now be removed. Also the shed stick is taken out. At the beginning of my description I mentioned another set of cross sticks near the warp beam. These are now replaced by gebang string. The other two sticks at the beginning of the woven section are also removed,

as the division into a 6--6 warp is now made by the woven ratã. The work so far will have taken up most of a long morning or afternoon, and it is unlikely that the woman will want to go on to the next step of ikat preparation immediately. The warp is rolled up at this point and stored away for the next day.

2. The Ikat Frame.

The following morning an ikat frame is brought out, the selaga. The warp will now be set up on it, and the patterns will be tied in. The ikat frame is usually a simple wooden frame (Fig. 8a, Ill. 63). Once I saw one decorated with carvings (lizards in this case), but this is not common. Two poles of wood or bamboo are set into the frame, one rests in forks cut into the two long, parallel sides. These indentations are the selaga ipã, i.e. "teeth of the ikat frame". The other pole is tied with gebang string to the short end of the frame. The tie, rather than a permanent hold, allows for variation in the length of warp. The warp threads are stretched between the two poles, and when tying the second one, great care has to be taken to give all skeins an even tension.

The loosely woven part of the warp (ratã) is held by the pole inserted into the toothed edge. The ratã actually covers, in width, twice the number of ikat skeins which are to make up one pattern. The skeins are now divided in half, and the equivalent ones are tied together (see Fig. 8 b).

This procedure is called lépot. It means that twice the amount of warp is tyed with one knot. As the upper and lower warp level is also tied at once, one ikat knot goes across four times one set of six threads, i.e., in front and back of a samong, and it is also repeated at both top and bottom. The sarong is therefore symmetrical in its patterns. The complete ikat section tied at once is called matã.[1] One section, then, will produce four times the same pattern. It is not separated until the warp is set up for weaving.

The folded warp is immediately tied into the correct sections with gebang string at the other end, this is called gasi balik, "to count, return", a reference to the careful counting and arranging in the accurate order of the folded skeins. The corresponding upper and lower warp is tied together. This end of the warp is now called fato maẽ, "stone, fine". This term could not be explained to me. Ratã and fato maẽ are terms kept for the finished cloth, referring to the two areas in an ikat section which are not decorated. At the fato maẽ the ikat itself is started. It is very important to start as closely as possible to the bamboo pole, to make a precise beginning.

---

[1] Matã also means "eye" in Lamalera; as such it becomes matak in Ili Api, matan in Kalikasa. See Barnes, R. H. (1977) for a discussion of mata in Indonesia and the Pacific; also Dempwolff (1938), who cites it in his vocabulary as Proto-Austronesian.

Usually a small pattern of alternately short and long knots is tied. Another popular border design is called iu ipã, "shark's teeth", in appearance like a row of triangles (cf. Chapter VII for a description of the patterns). As the number of skeins is always uneven, the step-pattern of the fato maẽ is, of course, also so. More than any other part of the design, this first part to be tied distinguishes each skein, because of a clear short/long alternation. To find out how many skeins are used for a particular pattern, the border at fato maẽ is counted. No such clear distinction is made at ratã.

3. Tying the Knots.

Now the pattern itself is started. To tie the knots is called onget, the knot is pui. The traditional material for tying ikat is gebang palm-leaf string. For this, the leaves of the palm are stripped into convenient threads. In Lamalera, they are not waxed, nor are they twisted into strings, as Bühler reports for Roti (Bühler 1943). However, more recently plastic string has found its way into the village. It is a kind of wide tape commonly used by the Chinese merchants to tie up their customers' parcels. When people come home from a shopping excursion to the market towns on Lembata, Adonara, or Flores, the women then put the plastic tape to their own use. They are pulled apart into strips, just as are the gebang leaves, and are stored for use in ikat tying. Some claim they are even better than

gebang string, because they never tear, but no one feels strongly enough about this new material to make exclusive use of it. The result is exactly the same, whether plastic or natural fibre is used, and often one finds both materials used side by side, in one and the same pattern. No one goes to buy the plastic string especially to use it for ikat, and this relatively new material is only one characteristic instance of reusing whatever is available in a society where rarely is anything wasted.

Whether gebang palm-leaf or plastic string, the prepared strips are carefully kept in a lidded basket or box, where they cannot fall out and then accidentally be brushed into the fire. If this happened, the owner would become insane. For the same reason, when the ikat knots are cut open after all dyeing has been finished, great care is taken about where they are disposed of. This has to be a place where no fire would be lit: a ravine, the sea, a fenced-in garden are good, safe depositories. The fear of fire is extended to all other tools associated with weaving and ikat making: to the loom as well as to the ikat frame. The dreaded result is identical, i.e., the woman would lose her sanity. It does not seem to affect either the cotton prior to spinning, and not the spindle itself, but only everything that is needed to transform the thread into the cloth. In Lamalera, the danger is also apparently not associated with the cloth itself.[2]

---

[2] Compare the Kédang fear of cremation and prohibition on burning platforms and other goods associated with birth or death (Barnes 1974a: 153, 199).

Several women I knew used a two-colour scheme when tying their ikat. They dyed some gebang string with indigo, so that their ikat, as they tied it on the frame, already gave some indication of the ultimate result. There is no practical need for this, although the colour distinction makes it easier to visualize the pattern. The colour of all knots will be the same after the first few dye-baths, but the women said that the use of black and white string made the work more interesting. One woman said it "just pleased her heart". She was an unusual person, however, in Lamalera, as she always expressed to me an acute awareness of aesthetic ideals involved in her work as a weaver and maker of ikat. Usually, women are not very forthcoming when a question of connoisseurship of indigenous cloth is raised; often the size of a sarong, i.e., its particular length, is praised in detail before a word is lost about the quality of the ikat itself. Nevertheless, they are fully aware of differences in craftsmanship between similar pieces, and they do not like carelessly done ikat. This became quite clear to me one day when I was looking in passing at a cloth hung out to air, which had a design I had known by name but had never actually seen before. The woman accompanying me explained the pattern, but then said in a rather abrupt way: "Now let's go on. This ikat is terribly done, and I can't stand to look at it any more." I had to agree with her in this case, but I have also observed that an indifferent piece

could be valued highly because of its particular size. This can only be understood if the cloth is seen in relation to its counterpart in bridewealth, the elephant tusk. For a long tusk, the appropriate gift in return would be a large cloth. Therefore, the evaluation of cloth is directly linked to its potential position in a bridewealth exchange..

The knot involves two stages. One is to fasten the string to the warp (Fig. 9), the other is winding it around the thread to give the appropriate reserve length. For a large section of reserve, as is required for the popular boat pattern, tẽna, this can be as long as 10cm. The small, bead-like reserves which make up the sections of other patterns may be no more than three or four tight turns of the string around the thread. The string always moves away from the knot to the right, then it returns and is tied off in a raised knot (Fig. 9.8). When I learned to tie the knots, it became immediately obvious why it has to be raised: it is very easy to cut off the knot and unravel the whole tie, therefore mistakes can be corrected at this stage. Once the dyeing has been finished, the ties will all have to be cut, and again it would be most difficult to untangle the gebang string from the warp if the knots were not readily visible and easy to cut without touching the warp.

4. Dyeing and Re-tying.

The first dye-bath will be with indigo; therefore

all parts of the warp which are to be either red or stay white have to be protected by the ikat knots against the blue-black colour. The woman preparing an ikat has to keep both the red and the white areas in mind when she makes her ties. Following are the names for the stages of tying the ikat. (1) Kemité saré, the first tie, which covers everything that is to remain white. (2) Lapi, the second tie; this should be tied with a considerably longer knot and covers all parts to be dyed red. After this tie, the ikat is ready to be dyed with indigo. (3) Tamẽ, the third tie. It covers all parts which are to remain black after the indigo bath. Now the ties of 2 are opened again, and the lengthy morinda dyeing can start. When that is completed, all knots can be cut (Ill. 68). Bühler (1943) reports for Roti that two different knots (a single and a double raised tie) are used to distinguish between white and red areas. This is also done in Lamalera, although not all women make the distinction. After the indigo dye has been applied, all those knots which cover an area to be dyed red are cut, while those to remain white can stay tied during the next dye-bath. One woman told me with indignation that, No, she did not need to distinguish between the knots--all one had to do was think about the pattern while one cut the knots. If she made a mistake, nevertheless, she had to retie the appropriate section intended to stay white. For any retying, the ikat has to be put on the frame again.

By immersing the threads into two different dyes, indigo and red, one achieves four different colours. The indigo bath gives a very dark blue called mitã, "black". The morinda gives red, meã. Parts which remain tied throughout stay the natural cotton colour, called white, burã, although it is beige rather than pure white. If the red dye is allowed to overlie the indigo, the result is a deep purple, which is almost black. This is called fangẽ.

The women of Lamalera rarely draw their patterns on paper before they want to ikat. The only time when they might want to do so is when they are working on ordinary cloth to be worn on festive and everyday occasions, i.e. not on adat cloth. For this purpose they may want to tie letters or new patterns, and a woman might draw her design with pencil and paper before she starts the tying. A more common model, however, will be a cloth already finished, and if she is working on a traditional pattern she either borrows a sarong she can copy her motifs from, or she already knows them by heart. The expertise in this case varies a great deal. I was amused in one case, where a woman wanted to ikat a cloth especially for me, to discover that she did not know how to tie even the very common "manta ray", moku, pattern without a model, while others, who were more consistently doing ikat, could produce the most intricate patterns from memory alone.

Once the work on the ikat has been finished, i.e. the appropriate reserves have been tied and retied, and the dyes have been applied to the warp, finally all knots can be opened for good. Now the skeins are stretched on the ikat frame once more. It is thereby possible to see the complete design in full detail. Visually the weft will add little to the cloth, because the warp is set up more densely than the weft is inserted. The warp gives the cloth its appearance, so that it is possible to tell now already, as soon as the ikat is stretched on the frame, how effective the design will be in the woven cloth. To store the finished ikat, a little bamboo stick is tied into the warp bundle. This is called pẽdaro pukã̃. It keeps the skeins in their appropriate order.

5. The Ikat Design in Its Relationship to the Cloth.

A traditional sarong made for bridewealth prestation shows the most elaborate use of ikat. There are two versions available: the kewatek nai ruã̃, a two-panel sarong, and the kewatek nai telo, which has three panels. Either type has wide ikat bands at both ends, often with as many as 31 or 33 skeins per design. The three-panel cloth also has a large central section which is always decorated ikat. In addition to the large ikat, thinner strips are also included. Their patterns may be especially designed for their narrowness, or may be made up from sections of a wider ikat. This means that one design is divided once it has been completed, and

its segments are set up in separate bands. The division is called belikung, a term which otherwise means "to protect". Because it is only part of a larger ikat, belikung may have an even number of ikat skeins.

When the weaver has prepared all the ikat she wants to include in one cloth, and if she has finished dyeing the thread for single colour sections or decorative stripes, she can finally set up the warp so it may be woven. On a traditional cloth she will alternate plain red warp with ikat, and also include narrow strips of blue, green, yellow, or any other colour she has been able to extract from a natural source. The setting up of the warp is identical with the description given above. The width and length of the warp depend on the size of the loom; an average size in Lamalera would be approximately 60cm. in width, and between 70 and 80cm. in length for one layer of warp, so that the complete circular cloth would measure 140 to 160cm. around. If the "hair", ratã, is cut and the cloth sewn up to be worn it becomes narrower and may measure only 120cm. around, i.e. 60cm. as one looks at it. When the sarong is made up, the panels are sewn to each other along one selvage (Fig. 10). In the completed garment, the warp then lies horizontally, the weft vertically. The average dimensions for the two-panel sarong would be 2 X 60cm. in length, and 60cm. wide as seen, or 120cm. in the round. The three-panel sarong may be as long as 180cm. The weft is always dyed

black for women's cloth in Lamalera. This is true both for adat and common cloth. As there are always more warp threads per square centimetre than weft threads, the weft thread makes no impact. In a very densely set up cloth, the relation of warp to weft may be 20 to 6, while a piece with a looser warp still uses 15 warp threads to 6 weft per square centimetre. Of course the tighter the warp is set up, the more coherent the ikat design appears, and the higher the quality of the cloth becomes. The actual weaving is the least time-consuming of the separate activities which are required for cloth making. I have seen women weave the section of a sarong with no or very little ikat in two to three days. This meant, though, that the weaver stayed at the loom a full day. If ikat decorations are included, it will take longer to weave the textile, because one has to stop every few centimetres to align the ikat pattern with the help of the little, pointed metal tool, nolo (cf. p. 89). This is called "picking the ikat", pilé mofa.

To make the most elaborate textile, the three-panel adat cloth with ikat decorations, and dye it all with natural colours, would take, according to several of my informants' estimates, from three to five months of continuous labour. Of course, the choice of the red dye, either tenar or kelorĕ, makes a great difference to the length of time required. Tying the ikat could take two to three months alone. The weaving of all three sections could

be done in two to three weeks, if nothing else interfered. However, this sort of schedule is entirely hypothetical, as the work on a piece of cloth will be interrupted many times, for weeks, months, or years, before it is picked up again. The dyes are available only at different times of the year, and some sections of the ikat may be finished and stored away for many years before the owner gets around to making the second part. No one is concerned about this pace of working, and in effect it does mean that women are always busy with one aspect or the other of cloth production, but one piece may actually take a long time to be completed. I know of several adat cloths which were made over generations by grandmother, mother, and daughter.

Making cloth is something all females of Lamalera are familiar with to a certain degree. I have been told repeatedly that all women can weave and make ikat, and if called upon would have to be capable of making an adat cloth. On the other hand, one encounters a lot of pessimism about the current practice concerning traditional weaving. It is popular in this part of Indonesia to denounce the old ways and hail what is called "modern times". Outsiders have therefore been ready to accept the view put forward by the villagers that things have changed drastically, and that nothing of the traditional methods survives. It is true that outside influences have brought major changes to the way of life on Lembata in general, and these changes often seem

to swamp the indigenous culture. However, under the surface of new influences, some traditions seem to be so significant to the people themselves that to let go of them would destroy their identity. One such institution, which shows no sign of disappearing, is the exchange of gifts at certain times in a person's life, in particular at the time of marriage. A wedding is never a personal affair alone, but involves all members of both the woman's and the man's clan. Bridewealth is exchanged under the eyes of both groups, and if any dispute arises, it is not the family, but the clan that represents the case. In Lamalera, cloth is always given by the woman's side, and I was told repeatedly that it would be impossible for the women of the village to forget how to weave the bridewealth cloth, as the well-being of the whole community would be at risk. Without the cloth, one cannot marry.

However, not all women get equal pleasure out of cloth production, or are equally good at it. Little girls will start to spin cotton at the age of four or five. They can go on to weaving when they are sixteen or seventeen. The last thing they will learn is the ikat technique. I knew several very efficient weavers in their late 'teens who were earning their living by producing men's cloth (which is without ikat), but who claimed they did not yet know how to ikat. However, if a mother was a good and enthusiastic ikat producer, she would most likely have taught her daughters by the time they were approaching the age of twenty. Virtually all young women will have worked

on some traditional cloth by the time they marry, either helping with the ikat, the dyeing, or the weaving. They will only have done so assisting their mothers or aunts, and will not have had an initial rôle in the production. Newly married and having young children, it will be an inappropriate time for a woman to make adat cloth. The explanation given was usually that children bring too much confusion into the household to make it possible to attempt such a task. One woman said explicitly that she was not old enough to make the adat sarong, but would do so when her children were grown-up.

Many women in Lamalera contribute to their household's income by weaving cloth to be sold, or work on commission from other villagers. Relatively few now attempt the rather time-consuming and difficult task of producing adat cloth. Those who do are all in their late middle-age or are older. A lot of knowledge, both technical and aesthetic, is needed to produce a well-made adat cloth. Young women do not have the expertise yet; it would be inappropriate if they did. It remains to be seen whether any of the present generation of young women will acquire their mothers' skills.

CHAPTER V: TEXTILES AS COSTUME

"Considering the complexity of the customs that have evolved around textiles among Indonesians, it is surprising to discover the basic simplicity of their clothing components. The form from which all major Indonesian costume originates is the rectangle" (Gittinger 1979a: 52). With some qualification, this certainly holds true for the costume worn by the Lamaholot. The locally woven cloth is never tailored, but is worn in the shape in which it comes off the loom. To create a sarong, two woven panels are sewn together, along the selvage.[1] The garment retains the shape of the textile, as it is woven, which is not, however, a rectangle, but a circular, continuous cloth, even though the weft cannot be inserted to the end (which would be the part at which weaving began). The open warp is cut to sew the sarong together, so that momentarily it is a rectangle. But the conception of the fabric is the continuous cloth, not the spread-out blanket-shape. This is so essential to the Lamaholot's interpretation of textiles that the most valuable

---

[1] The very long bridewealth cloths of Lamalera and the Lerek peninsula have three panels. In the Lerek region, these may even be expanded to five or seven.

indigenous cloth, the bridewealth sarong, may not be cut at all, if it is to retain its value as a gift at marriage. Depending on the area or, in Lamalera, on the type of bridewealth cloth, two or three panels are sewn together, but the warp at ratã is left open.

When dealers buy these cloths and sell them on the art market, they almost inevitably cut the warp thread and spread the cloth out to the rectangular shape which the connoisseur is familiar with from other great warp-ikat producing areas, such as the Sumba men's cloth, hinggi, the shoulder cloths or hip wrappers of Roti, Ndao, and Timor, and the large blankets of the Iban, pua, or the death shrouds, paporitonoling, from the Tonoling region of Sulawesi. For the woman's sarong and bridewealth cloth of the Lamaholot, this spread-out cloth creates a completely false and inappropriate image.

There are basically three types of cloth produced and worn in Lamalera: (1) kewatek, the woman's sarong; (2) nofi, the man's sarong; (3) senai, a shoulder cloth (the Indonesian selendang). Of the three, the kewatek and the nofi are the most frequently made. They are the essential clothing worn by women and men respectively. They also serve as blankets at night, and they may be used as wrappers to carry anything in.

1. Manner of Dress.

The tubular sarong is the traditional dress for the

Lamaholot, both for men and women. In Kédang, however, formerly only the loin cloth was worn, together with a circular piece of cloth made from gebang palm leaves (Barnes 1974a: 18). When a man is buried there, his body is still dressed with the two pieces of cloth underneath a sarong, unless he had been converted to Islam or Catholicism, in which case they are omitted.

Nowadays women will almost always wear the Indonesian blouse, kebaya, and men wear T-shirts or European-style shirts with the sarong. In the mountain villages, older women can occasionally be seen without a blouse, bare above the waist. In Lamalera, this is not considered proper, due to the influence of the early missionaries. Men of all ages often work without their shirts on. In the mountain villages of Lembata women often tie their sarongs above the breasts and wear them like a long dress, without a blouse, this is not common in Lamalera. Here the sarong is always gathered around the waist and worn as a skirt.

Throughout the Lamaholot region, the manner of fastening the sarong is similar. Women gather the width of the cloth towards their left or right side, then bring some of it back to be tucked in at the waist, just off centre. Thus a deep pleat is created (Ill. 69). The knot at the waist forms a great bulge which conceals the woman's actual shape. Any excess length of fabric may be folded over at the waist before the sarong is gathered, or it is picked up and incorporated into the knot. Men bring all excess width of

the sarong to their front, and roll it up tightly. The rolled-up cloth, which forms a small cushion shape, always is placed at the centre, rather than off to the left or right. Vatter (1932, plates 14,1 and 17,2) also photographed men who gathered their sarongs with belts and then let the excess fabric hang over their waist. Men's belts are occasionally used in East Flores, where they are part of the traditional dress. Only in southwestern Solor did I come across a distinction by age when it came to the tying of the sarong. Traditionally there were three ways for women to wrap their sarongs, depending on age and marital status: (1) howi, used by young girls (about thirteen to sixteen years old, i.e., not yet marriageable), the sarong was looped over a string worn around the neck; (2) ketéwan, used by girls of marriageable age (seventeen years old and upwards), the sarong is tied over the breasts, and an overlap allowed to hang down the front; (3) sugi, used by married women, the sarong is fastened over the shoulders with wooden pins (tenuran), one for each shoulder, and is also gathered at the waist, presumably with a belt. No woman wears her sarong in any of these ways any more; nowadays the cloth is always wrapped around the waist and worn with a blouse. The old way of weaving a sarong excluded a blouse or shirt. Vatter (1932, pl. 22,2) found the same custom in the Lobe Tobi region of East Flores. Lobe Tobi and southwest Solor are culturally very close and seem to share many customs.

Western-style clothing now is readily available to the people of Lamalera, and virtually all households own some. Men working on the boats usually wear shorts, because these give them greater freedom of movement than a nofi. Many own at least one pair of trousers. Women may own one or two dresses, but these are usually worn with a sarong over them. As far as standards of decency are concerned, the Lamaholot in general are concerned with the lower part of the female body being covered, at least between waist and knees. It is far more acceptable for a women to be bare-breasted than to show her thighs; a European woman in a bathing suit is something genuinely shocking to the Lamaholot, and she seems most uncivilized to them. During our most recent visit in Lamalera, the village experienced a short visit, lasting a few hours, of a boat-load of Italian tourists. Apart from the long-lasting general gossip their behaviour supplied, I was often asked afterwards: "If these people are so rich [all Westerners are extremely well-off in their eyes, and tourists especially so], why do they wear virtually no clothes? To go around almost naked is a sign of poverty."

Young women, and especially school teachers, sometimes wear a skirt, but during the ten years which have passed since my first visit to the area this habit has not become any more popular, and at least so far, the traditional attire of the tubular sarong remains part of the regional costume, both for men and for women. On feast days, whether

they are traditional or connected with church celebrations, the fine sarongs are usually put on, and the women may wear a senai, shoulder-cloth, in addition. Only for occasions which celebrate the national tendencies of the Indonesian state, such as the Independence Day on August 17, does one see a large number of people wearing European clothing. Despite sixty years of very intense contact with, and dominance by, a strong Catholic mission and the Western influence this has brought, the traditional way of dressing remains firmly rooted in the village.

2. The Woman's Sarong.

The women's cloths, kewatek, are divided into four types in Lamalera: (a) kewatek biasa, "ordinary sarong", usually without ikat; (b) kewatek menikil, "festive sarong"; it has to include some ikat; (c) kewatek nai ruã, "two-panel sarong", suitable for bridewealth; (d) kewatek nai telo, "three-panel sarong", suitable for bridewealth.

Of the four, the first two are worn and can always be seen in the village. The ordinary sarong, which either lacks all ikat, or includes only a narrow strip dyed in one colour, is worn as everyday dress (Ill. 61). For certain festive occasions, i.e., for the Sunday mass as well as for traditional feasts, the kewatek menikil is worn (Ill. 69). This sarong has at least one wide band of ikat decoration close to the outer border of each panel, and the ikat should have been dyed in two different colours, i.e., should include the

second tie, lapi (see above, page 100). The quality of a cloth and its ikat decoration is very much influenced by the presence or absence of this second tie. Nowadays, the festive sarongs woven in Lamalera are rarely made of locally grown and hand-spun cotton, but of machine-spun thread, and they are usually dyed with commercial rather than the locally available plant dyes. The wide band of ikat, therefore, is often tied into machine-spun cotton and dyed with aniline colours. The woman has a great freedom of choice when deciding on the ikat patterns in a festive sarong, and she will often use designs which are not part of Lamalera's textile tradition (see below, Chapter VII, on recently invented or adopted designs). This particular inventiveness is more highly developed in Lamalera than elsewhere in the Lamaholot region.

The other two types of women's cloths are the kewatek nai ruã̃ ("women's sarong, cloth panel, two") and kewatek nai telo ("three-panel sarong")(Ill. 70 and 71). These cloths, which have the form of women's sarongs, have their primary function as ceremonial cloth, exchanged at the time of marriage. Their manufacture is completely bound by tradition. Only natural dyes may be used in their decoration, local cotton has to be the material they are made of, and they have to include wide ikat designs. There is another term for the three-panel sarong, which is tukã̃-hebã̃ ("centre, outer panel"), a reference to the parts of the cloth. In ceremonial language, which is used when discussing matters of traditional customs and laws, this is the correct term to use

for the bridewealth coming from the woman's side at the time of marriage.

Occasionally an older woman may wear one of these cloths at a special occasion. In Lamalera I have only seen the two-panel sarong worn at very high church or village feasts. The three-panel cloths are so long that they would be awkward to wear around the waist. In Kédang, I have often seen Lamaholot women wearing their red sarongs at funerary feasts, but in Lamalera in particular traditional cloths are not worn on this occasion.

It would be improper to wear the bridewealth cloth daily. To do so would express a lack of social restraint which might, eventually, bring about one's destruction. In Lamalera there once existed a clan, called Léfo Séfo, which was very well-to-do, and the members of which assumed an air of superiority. This they showed by always wearing adat clothing, thereby putting on a constant display of their wealth. Along with the typical male marriage gift, the elephant tusk, the women's bridewealth cloth is the greatest treasure of a household. Léfo Séfo's claims to superiority were interpreted as arrogance by the rest of the village, and consequently help was denied to this group when it was needed. In the version of the clan's history given to us, their boat once turned over at sea. Because its members had been grossly selfish and had not allowed others to partake in their hunt, they were not assisted and all the men drowned. The clan finally died out; only a brother and sister were

alive early in this century. When the brother died, the sister went to relatives in the clan of Lamakera (Lẽfo Sẽfo's wife-giving affines and thus givers of cloth) to ask for assistance with the burial and for the cloth which the deceased should take with him into the grave. This was denied and she had to turn to another clan, Belikololong, to get the burial cloth.

Two points of interest emerge here: women of the clan wore adat cloth daily, "even in the kitchen", as report had it, and they went so far as to expect the same attire of anyone who came to see them about anything. By their dress, they assumed a position superior to that of other clans, and they requested others to show their respect by presenting themselves in the same costume, which is usually reserved for very special occasions. To do so was not considered proper by the people of Lamalera. The second, ironic, point is that when the clan finally died out, its last male member could only with some difficulty be properly dressed. A request for help in this case is not easily refused, so when it was denied by the clan of Lamakera, this was significant enough to become part of the story of the downfall of a once prosperous clan.

3. The Man's Sarong.

The man's sarong, nofi, serves no other function than that of clothing. It does not appear as part of the gift

exchange at a marriage, and it is never treated as an heirloom or personal treasure, as is the case for the woman's bridewealth cloth. When a man has died, his wife-giver, opu-lakĕ, must give his family a man's sarong and shirt, which provide the deceased with the appropriate clothing for his journey into the next world. It must be emphasized, though, that in Lamalera the dress given to the deceased is the kind of cloth which is worn on any day in this world, although the outfit should be new. This custom stands in contrast to the elaborate use of special cloths which have been reported from other parts of eastern Indonesia, including information I collected myself in Solor and East Flores.

The Lamalera man's sarong has no ikat decoration and is therefore thought to be easier to make than the woman's cloth with ikat. Several weavers I knew were very efficient at producing any number of men's cloths, but claimed they would rarely weave ikat, because of the additional work involved. The younger girls even claimed that they did not know how to make ikat designs. The men's sarong is always checkered with a tartan-like design, very much like the lipa universally worn throughout Indonesia, which is of course also available to the people of Lamalera. If one compares the men's cloth from other parts of Lamaholot with those of Lamalera, there is a striking difference. The traditional cloth in all other areas is decorated with horizontal stripes, achieved with differently coloured warp thread. The Lamalera nofi, however,

with its plaid pattern which is unique in the area, definitely departs from the regional style.

There are two types of men's sarongs. One is made of locally spun cotton and is dyed in natural dyes (Ill. 72). The colours used are blue/black (the indigo-dyed thread), red, and the natural cotton. The white, and a light and dark indigo colour dominate the appearance of any of these cloths. Red may be included into the warp, or it may be reserved for the weft. In the sarong of Ill. 72, it is reserved for the kotã ("head"), a visual centre of the sarong which is also familiar from the lipa, the factory produced Makassar cloth, as well as from the batik fabrics of Java. It is approximately opposite ratã, the open warp which is cut and sewn to close the sarong's tube. The man's sarong is always made up of two panels; like the women's cloth, these are symmetric to each other. However, the border, which is always prominently decorated in a woman's cloth, is of little importance.

The second kind of man's cloth is no more than a variation on the first, but it uses imported dyes and, usually, store-bought, machine-spun thread as well. The choice of colour combinations and varieties of tartan checks made by warp and weft are left to the preferences of the weaver's imagination. While the women's cloth for daily or festive wear is very strongly influenced by both outside material (in thread and colours), the man's sarong made with indigenous cotton and dyes is still very common.

4. The Shoulder Cloth.

The third cloth woven and worn locally in Lamalera is the shoulder cloth, called senai in Lamalera. In other areas of Lamaholot, senai refers to the men's sarong. The shoulder cloth is worn by women over their blouses, for Sunday mass, or by men when they dress up in traditional costume. In Kédang, the individual dances performed by women, to the accompaniment of gongs and a drum, require the use of a shoulder cloth. It is decorated like the women's sarong, with ikat and narrow warp stripes. The ikat design may be either traditional, i.e., use the patterns of the bridewealth cloth, or it can be of recent invention. In the traditional costume of Lamalera, the shoulder cloth seems to have played the rôle of finery, of elaboration, rather than being considered essential.

Finally, a note should be made about the wearing of cloth. Although the kewatek and nofi are clearly associated with women and men respectively, it is not uncommon to see a person of one sex wearing the type of sarong associated with the other (Ill. 74). I was told repeatedly that there is no particular significance attached to this, and the idea of transvestism seems to be too far-fetched. It was instead compared to the habit of men wearing batik print cloths (which are usually worn by women in eastern Indonesia), and women wearing the tartan-patterned imported men's lipa. If a man or woman wears the cloth associated with the other sex, he or she will still fasten it in the manner appropriate to his or her own.

CHAPTER VI: TRADE OF CLOTH

Lamalera has many professional weavers who earn a living for themselves or their families by weaving textiles for clothing, which is then traded into the mountainous regions of southern Lembata. Furthermore, they may supply cloth for people in the village, to households where the women are not so much inclined towards weaving their own supply. For trading, these professional weavers tend to specialise in cloth for daily wear or festive sarongs, rather than in traditional bridewealth cloth.

On Lembata, there are two regions where weaving is traditionally prohibited. These are the Mingar and Kédang districts. This prohibition was adhered to until not long ago; under the Japanese occupation cotton was brought into Kédang and home weaving was encouraged. Only for the last 35 years or so has any weaving been done in this region. Even then, it has not taken a strong hold. It is still positively prohibited to grow cotton or to weave in the old mountain villages (léu tuan), and Kédang depends almost entirely on the cloth traded in from Ili Api and the traders' village Kalikur--an ancient settlement in Kédang, but with strong ties to Adonara.

Judging by conversations I have had with the women

of Lamalera, the situation in Mingar is similar. No cotton is grown there, and until quite recently, i.e., well within living memory, no weaving was done in this area at all. The people of Mingar depend entirely on the cloth production of Lamalera, both for clothing and for their bridewealth cloth. Now some weaving is done in Mingar, as well, but there is still a very good market for cloth coming from elsewhere.

The women of Lamalera are entirely responsible for bringing the staple foods, maize, rice, and tubers, into the village. They take the dried fish or their cloths into the mountains and barter for the necessary goods. Fish takes first place in their transactions, because there is a wider and more consistent market for it, and because it is available to all households which maintain a connection with the fishery.[1] The cloth trade, however, holds a very important second place which can become of life-saving significance when the catch is very low. The large boats go out to fish only in the months of the dry season, and, unless the overall

---

[1] For several households, however, the woman's products of the village, i.e., the cloth and the salt, have become the only indigenously produced goods because the men of the family have moved into different professions which have taken them away from the traditional fishing.

catch has been unusually good, the staples then bartered for have to be supplemented with further goods traded for in the rainy season, lasting from November to April. Then the women will take their woven goods and go for long excursions which may take them away from the village for several days at a time. Over generations the women have established their trading connections, and they will visit villages where they are well known and can expect willing trade partners. In the Mingar region possible goals are Waupukan, Watablan, Wauhija, Tewau Wutu, and Peni Keni. Other trading areas may be Bakan and Puor, in the mountains behind Lamalera, and Atadei, on the Lerek peninsula. The latter area, however, also produces its own cloth, and therefore textiles are not usually taken there.

It is essential for the women to arrive at their destination early in the morning, before their potential trade partners have left their villages to work in the fields. As the mountain communities are all several hours away, the women leave Lamalera during the night, at about 2:00 A.M. They never walk by themselves, but always gather in small groups of six to a dozen. Several places in the village are designated as meeting places, where one sits, chats, and waits until all have come together. The preferred time for trading is when the moon is full. It is easy to travel then, as there is light enough to see the path and the women are not afraid of being troubled by witches or evil spirits. When the moon

is waning, however, and at the time of the new moon, they show reluctance to leave the village, for fear of being attacked by witches and tricked into an accident by an evil spirit. They have to go trading nonetheless, but they then assemble in considerably larger groups which travel closely together. Their only lights for the way are torches made from coconut leaves which are carried by two or three of the women.

The trading is done primarily by adolescent girls and younger women. A woman's daughters will accompany her as soon as they are strong enough to walk the long distances with the heavy return load of maize, tubers, and fruit. As long as they do not commit themselves to further education, this will be once they have left the village school, at the age of thirteen or fourteen. After a while, the mother will no longer participate much in the trading; she is likely to spend more time then on weaving.

No men travel with the girls and women. Although local warfare was part of life until and into this century, the trade connections as far as Mingar in the west and into the mountains north of Lamalera are traditional. With the Atadẽi and Labala region relations have been difficult in historical times, and formerly warfare has kept women away. In recent decades, the peninsula has become volcanically very active, and following a major geological disaster in 1979, which killed several women from Lamalera who were trading there,

people are now once more reluctant to go there.

Fish and salt are also traded in traditional market places. To the northeast of Lamalera, at the shores of the Labala Bay, is Wulandoni, a market where the women from Lamalera can barter for staple food brought by the mountain villagers, or for some luxury goods such as sugar, coffee, coconut oil, from Labala merchants. Labala is an old Islamic settlement whose traders were mentioned by early Portuguese sources. The Lamalera women never take their cloth to Wulandoni or to any other market. Their sarongs are worth more than they could collect in kind in a market exchange, which specialises in bartering for immediate consumption, and they are not usually interested in cash.

Most important for the trade are the woman's festive sarong and the man's sarong, cloths designed to be worn. For both, the cost can vary, depending on the thread and dyes used, and whether, in the case of a woman's sarong, the piece includes wide strips of ikat. If a woman in the village prepares a cloth up to the point of weaving, i.e., sets up the warp (which may or may not include ikat), and provides the weft, but then turns it over to a professional weaver to finish, the weaver requires a fee, usually in cash. In 1979 she would ask Rp 2000 (ca. £1.60), by 1982 the fee had risen to Rp. 2500. The dyes and some hanks of store-bought cotton for the decorative stripes in a festive sarong, which is otherwise made mainly of home-spun cotton with some

ikat decoration, will amount to another Rp 2,000. This estimate is for commissions within the village, among people who know each other intimately and have enough family connections and obligations to keep the price at the bottom of the market.

The cloths made in the village are not woven on commission, but are taken along on a bartering excursion in a hope that a buyer will be found. The two areas suitable for the trade, Mingar and the villages around the Labalekang volcano, have different preferences. In Mingar, people like sarongs which are made from local cotton and dyed with natural dyes. They praise the durability of the indigenous Lamalera cloth, which stand up to daily wear far better, they claim, than machine-produced fabrics. Of course Mingar, because of its prohibition on weaving, gets all locally made cloth from Lamalera, both for every-day work and for festive wear.

The mountain villages around Labalekang are a better market for textiles woven with store-bought yarn, dyed in aniline dyes. The women of Lamalera never sell factory-produced textiles, as do the trader women of Adonara's Islamic coastal villages, but they do buy machine-spun, and possibly already dyed, thread to weave and then sell. Because of the initial cost, the weaver has a smaller profit margin in this case, but also less labour will have been involved.

Cloth which is woven to be traded is called beragi. A weaver makes the trade cloth with as much care as any sarong for her own personal use. If ikat is part of the decoration, she tries to make the design as clearly defined as possible, to the best of her ability. To do anything less would lose her respect among friends and neighbours. It is not polite to be openly critical, but the people of Lamalera are very forthright when it comes to judging each other's worth by the quality of work one does.

Maize and unhusked rice (padi) are the two staple goods which one hopes to get in exchange for a cloth. When the value of any particular sarong is discussed, this is always expressed in the amount of maize or rice one could get in exchange. The woman's cloth is talked about in the equivalence of rice, the man's in terms of maize. The measurement for rice is one blek (Dutch, "tin"), a large storage container holding twenty litres, which has been introduced by merchants.[2] Maize is counted on the cob. The staple which one receives in exchange for a cloth may actually be a mixture of maize and rice, thus a neighbour of mine once received 800 ears of corn and one blek of rice in exchange for a man's sarong she

---

[2] Although it has become a standard measure for many items, it is not much used for storage in the villages. Large baskets are still the universally used containers for the year's supply of maize and rice.

had woven.

The exchange rate varies most with the women's sarongs. An ordinary sarong, because it lacks ikat, is worth as much as a man's sarong. The festive sarong, which includes ikat, can bring twice as much, if the ikat includes two dyes.

Nowadays much less significant in numbers is the trade with bridewealth cloth. I was told repeatedly that these cloths are produced less now than they used to be, and while formerly Lamalera used to provide the mountain villages with bridewealth sarongs, the cloths now still in the village are needed here for their own marriage requirements and can therefore not leave as freely as they used to. One old woman told me that when she was young, i.e., about fifty years ago, this trade was still very much alive, and they used to get fifteen blek of unhusked rice, padi, for one three-panel sarong. The trade has not died out entirely, though. Sometimes well-known weavers are approached by people from other villages and are asked to provide a bridewealth sarong. Cloth is needed as part of the marriage gift exchange throughout the Lamaholot region, even in areas where little or no weaving is done. All bridewealth cloth used in Mingar, and often that used in the Labalekang mountain villages, as well, comes originally from Lamalera. This was well illustrated to me once when I was looking at bridewealth cloth in Lewotala, a hamlet not more than ten minutes' walk away from Lamalera. The textiles had been given in exchange,

at a marriage between a woman from Puor, high up on the mountain approximately a two-hour walk away, and a man from Lewotala. The sarongs all came from Lamalera; they were clearly not made by one weaver, as the quality of both ikat and dyes differed greatly. If the year has been a bad one for catching fish, or a household is otherwise in financial difficulties, an *adat* sarong may be sold to bring in cash or staples. Nowadays, if large sums of money are required to send children away to school, a family is likely to turn to the treasure chest of bridewealth cloths.

The value of locally woven cloth, in exchange for goods, is as follows. I have also included the cash value of each cloth, as of 1979 and 1982.

Type of cloth	Value in kind	Value in Rp.[3] 1979	1982
1. Men's sarong	1,000 ears of maize	7,500	10,000
2. Women's ordinary sarong	five *blek* of (unhusked) rice	7,500	10,000
3. Women's festive sarong	up to ten *blek* of rice	15,000	20,000
4. Two-panel *adat* cloth	twenty *blek* of rice	20,000	40,000
5. Three-panel *adat* cloth	thirty *blek* of rice	30,000	60,000
6. Shoulder cloth	-----	5,000	7,000

[3] In 1979 the currency rate was Rp 1,345/£ and in 1982 Rp 1,134/£.

The shoulder cloth has a very insignificant rôle as a trade item. The value of all cloth has remained constant in its relation to bartered goods. National inflation, which has raised the cost of staple food, i.e., rice and maize, has increased their value in cash, though. In 1979 the cash value of the bridewealth cloths was lagging behind their "real" value, in kind: one blek of rice was worth Rp. 1,500 at the time. By 1982, the price of rice had risen to Rp. 2,000 per blek, which is correctly reflected in the cash value given by my informants. Apparently, the rate of exchange in local goods has remained stable for far longer than my eye-witness account can testify. One woman remembered details of cloth trading carried on by her mother which are identical with the above. Because of external associations, it was obvious that she was talking of the late 1950's. In this context the above-mentioned value of the three-panel cloth fifty years ago is of interest. I was often told that twenty blek of rice for a two-panel cloth and thirty for a three-panelled one was the optimum value, and that if one was looking actively for a buyer, one could reasonably only expect half as much. In this light, the fifteen blek of rice mentioned for the three-panel cloth is the correct minimum.

For the Lamaholot, who have a subsistence economy with usually little surplus, these cloths are very dear indeed. But the Lamalera cloth has a certain fame in the mountains of Lembata, and there seems to be no problem in finding people

who are willing to pay the price. The other regions on Lembata which enjoy a comparable fame are the Lerek Peninsula and Ili Api. From Ili Api, cloth is also traded traditionally to other areas--in particular to Kédang, but less regularly to other parts of the island, as well. The cloth of Ili Api usually is made up of two panels, designed throughout with geometric ikat patterns, and a friend in Lamalera showed me such a piece which she had traded in for a three-panelled Lamalera sarong which she had made. By Lamalera standards, her own piece would have been worth one-third more than the Ili Api cloth--a considerable sum in terms of local economics. But she did not consider the exchange on those grounds at all. She said she liked to own a cloth like it, from another ikat-producing area, to see different types of ikat design. Local norms of value became unimportant to her in that case. This example is interesting in so far as it throws light on the attitude taken towards cloth coming from outside into the village. A different tradition is appreciated, and some aspects of it, of design or composition, may be adopted. The following chapter will begin an analysis of the design of Lamalera textiles, a topic which will eventually lead to the question of how this one community has reacted to different influences.

CHAPTER VII: IKAT PATTERNS FOUND IN LAMALERA

A consideration of textile patterns will necessarily concentrate on women's cloths, which distinguish themselves through their ikat designs. In this chapter, therefore, we will mainly be looking at the two versions of bridewealth cloth, and at the women's festive sarongs. Figures 10, 11 and 12 show the general arrangements of decoration for all three types of cloth. It is obvious that a close connection exists between the festive sarong and the two-panel bridewealth cloth. Both have wide ikat patterns close to the borders and narrow stripes throughout. The festive sarong has one wide ikat pattern at either end, the bridewealth cloth has three, which may vary in width. The stripes throughout the main body are uneven in number. The three-panel bridewealth cloth has two wide ikat patterns and several narrow ones in the two outer panels, and a continuous pattern in the centre. The latter creates a very different overall impression than the stripes or band-type decorations of the other two cloth types.

1. Traditional Patterns.

I was given the names of twenty-five different patterns and have seen several more of which no name was known. Some

patterns are far more common than others, and their names would be known to everyone, even to men, or to women who rarely do ikat. The names of those designs which are less frequent might be recognized only by the women who tie them, or not even by them. If a woman does not know the specific name of a design she will name it after the number of ikat skeins which make up its width, i.e. kenirak ("pattern") léma ("five"). I have been told by experienced ikat producers that all patterns are named, although their proper names may not be known to many, or may now have been entirely forgotten. Nevertheless, in the village one often encounters the answer: "It is only a pattern, without a name." This ignorance is especially common among men and young women who have not yet had much experience with the ikat production. By the end of my three visits to Lamalera I had been able to collect names for almost all designs I had seen. In alphabetical order, the names given to me and their meanings now follow:

arã: "plank".

ata dikã: "man" (human).

befajak: "betel box" or "-basket".

befajak penapã: "part of a betel box", the pattern shows only half of befajak (see Fig. 14b); cf. also gaja penapã.

belére: no known meaning.

boleng: refers to Ili Boleng on Adonara, where the pattern is supposed to come from. It is not found on adat cloth.

futu galã: "point of a lance".

gaja penapã: "part of an elephant".

gaja: "elephant"; the pattern is found on a three-panel cloth now in Basel (Ill. 132). I have never seen it in the village.

iu: "shark".

iu ipã: "shark's tooth".

jõ: "Chinese junk" (cf. Leemker, jon). The translation given me in Lamalera referred specifically to Chinese boats.

ka'u belapit: from ka'u, "folding coconut leaves", belapit, "ikat dyed with indigo and morinda"; cf. lapi, the second ikat tie. It is the narrowest named pattern, only three ikat skeins wide.

kebeku: "sunfish" (Mola Mola).

kelulus: "small boat".

ketipa: Lamaholot for patola cloths; cf. Beckering (1911: 178) who mentions sinde katipa on Adonara. The pattern is also named ketipa belurã, "fine ketipa".

kelapã: "tool box".

mekot: "scorpion".

menué: "swift" (for winding cotton).

moku: "small manta ray". The fishermen of Lamalera distinguish three types of manta ray: moku,

bou, and belelã. Moku is the smallest, belelã the largest. Only moku appears on ikat.

moku bélã: "large moku"; although similar to moku, the two are treated as different patterns.

nuba: compartment of a betel basket. One informant elaborated on the translation and said that nuba refers in particular to the inside of a betel box as found on Timor, and the ancestors got the pattern from baskets they brought back when they used to trade whale oil there (cf. Vroklage 1953, vol. 3: pl. XVIII, for the baskets of the Belu). Similarly decorative basket work is not done in Lamalera, although it is found elsewhere among the Lamaholot.

petolã: "patola". Note that Lamaholot for the cloth patolu is actually ketipa. Possibly relevant is Leemker, who gives patala, "star", and Arndt 1937, petala (Ili Mandiri, Flores), "star". In Lamalera "star" is tona.

pusu rebõ: no known meaning.

taru matã: taru, "to stick, put on"; matã: the complete section of warp threads on the ikat frame which is going to make up one pattern. There are two patterns which go by this name in Lamalera.

tẽna: "boat"; it always refers to the large fishing boats which are peculiar to Lamalera.

tẽna tuba moku: "boat harpoons manta ray".

tona: "star". This pattern does not appear on Lamalera adat cloth. It is frequently found on the traditional cloth of Ili Api and is said to have come from there.

The position of the patterns is to a certain degree prescribed. The following list gives the appropriate place on the finished sarong; one has to imagine a kewatek nai telo in this case, as it includes the centre cloth.

(1) End section hebã: the following patterns are exclusive to it: arã, befajak, befajak penapã, (boleng), iu, jõ, ka'u belapit, kebeku, kelulus, kelapã, mekot, moku, tẽna, tẽna tuba moku, (tona). The patterns boleng and tona have been put in parentheses because they do not appear on adat cloth in Lamalera, although they are traditional patterns elsewhere.

(2) Central section tukã (the following patterns I have seen exclusively in this section): gaja (not seen in Lamalera, but in Basel, IIc 14735), ketipa, petolã, pusu rebõ.

In addition, however, there is a range of patterns which are considered especially suitable for the central section, but which also appear in the two end pieces. As the

centre of a three-panel cloth always shows a continuous design, rather than the band arrangement of the outer panels, or of the two-panel sarong, it has to be possible to link the ikat pattern perfectly, without a visual break. The same pattern will be repeated from five to ten times, depending on the width of the basic unit (matã) and the desired width of the central section. The centre of the three-section cloth of Lamalera is approximately one-third of the full length of the sarong. The same is true of other regions where the three-panel sarong is found on Lembata: on the Lerek Peninsula, in Kédang, and (rarely) Ili Api. I have seen one piece from Lerek, however, which had an extremely narrow central section, being only approximately 25cm. wide (Frankfurt, Städtisches Museum für Völkerkunde, N.S.28638). The pattern was repeated twice over the width. These three-panel sarongs, from other parts of Lembata, do not necessarily put the same emphasis on the continuous pattern.

It is very common to take one width of the central design for each outer panel as well, so that one of the wider ikat bands in the section hebã has the same pattern as tukã. The patterns thus found in both parts, but especially suitable for the central section, are: ata dikã, belére, gaja penapã, menue, moku bélã, nuba, taru matã (two versions).

The border of the ikat decoration, which is tied first, is usually an alternation of long and short ikat knots. However, it is also quite common to tie a decorative border. Two names for possible patterns were given me: iu ipã, futu galã.

Each represents a different approach to the border. The "shark's tooth" is simple and small; it consists of a steadily increasing length of knots. Futu galã is more ambitious and highly decorative.

Of these patterns, not all are suitable for all common widths of ikat bands. Figure 12 shows the possible positions on the cloth. The most common width for the narrow band is five ikat skeins. Anything less appears as a single beaded pattern rather than as a figural design. This may, however, be the section of a larger pattern, which is usually found elsewhere on the cloth. It may also be the named ka'u belapit, or a single ikat skein called belurã ("fine"). Any of these small ikat designs are called belikung (cf. liko, "to protect, to step between two people who are fighting"). The figural patterns, the smallest of which are kelulus and arã, are called kojang.

The wider ikat bands which follow further away from the end are the major ikat sections of the panel. Certain patterns are restricted to these bands; they are too complex to be effective if used on a narrower ikat pattern, and they are not suitable for the central section. By far the most popular designs are tẽna tuba moku, the moku by itself, and taru matã. Also well known are mẽkot, befajak, kelapã and gaja penapã.

The names given to the patterns almost all refer to objects or living beings known to everyone in the village. The two patterns which refer to an action, taru matã and

tẽna tuba moku, mention two activities characteristic for the work of men (tẽna tuba moku, "boat harpooning ray") and of women (taru matã, "putting on the ikat section"). Tẽna tuba moku describes the action depicted, while taru matã refers to the work which produces the design. Typically, all patterns refer to a particular object, and the design is rigidly defined. The pattern taru matã is an exception, however. It is the only pattern I have seen in Lamalera of which two distinctly different versions are acceptable. The name seems to refer to the action of the ikat preparation rather than to the appearance of the pattern.

The craftswoman can vary the size and arrangement of her design, but outline and colour juxtaposition are consistent for any pattern. The design of Lamalera patterns is strictly linear; the recognized pattern is first tied into the ikat so that it will stand out in white. The colours black and red are used to fill in and distinguish between areas of the design. The effect of the linear approach is one of extreme abstraction. Even "realistic" subjects, such as the boat chase and the animals (scorpion, ray, shark) are consequently free of all naturalism.

The patterns mentioned are traditional adat cloth designs. They also appear, however, on the more elaborate version of the women's sarongs. There seems to be no prohibition against the use of any of the adat patterns in common, everyday clothing. Some designs I have never seen on a sarong suitable for daily or festive wear: these are

ketipa, petolã, pusu rebõ, ata dikã, belére, and menue. These patterns, however, were not widespread in the village.

The adat cloth is supposed to be strictly traditional: only the patterns which have "always" been used locally are permitted to appear in the ikat decoration. No external influence is now allowed to show, even when this would be the traditional design among a neighbouring group of people, such as the designs boleng from Adonara and tona from Ili Api. Yet as will be discussed later, at one time Lamalera traditional design was profoundly affected by a different textile tradition, and the people were willing to adopt a design structure in their cloths which was entirely new and strange to their own tradition.

The bridewealth sarongs are therefore quite restricted in their possibilities of design. Twenty-odd patterns suggest a limited range of design. Still, the Lamalera women manage to create cloths which show virtual perfection from a technical point of view, and at the same time remain very individual works of art. It is possible for the experienced eye to identify an ikat cloth from Lembata with a certain area, as each tradition has not only its own patterns, but also its own way of juxtaposition of colours. These stylistic characteristics are never varied. Yet within one tradition, one can look at any number of cloths and find no two of them alike.

2. Recently Invented or Copied Patterns.

The festive sarong can potentially show any design which catches the weaver's fancy. The patterns which are known from Lamalera adat cloth can appear on it, and all better-known designs are indeed common to both types of cloth. In addition, however, the festive sarong frequently shows designs which are either made up by the weaver or copied from a non-indigenous source. A woman may use a cross-and-chalice design which she has seen in the missionary's Catholic newspaper, or two birds flanking a cup or tree-of-life symbol, as seen in a book of European embroidery samples (Ill. 88). Quite often she will tie her own name into the warp.

The influence of Western script and, to a lesser degree, Western images is immediately apparent. It is not clear how recent this type of design is, but its strong association with church festivals, when shawls and sarongs appear with Christian greetings, suggest that it developed in the wake of the foundation of the mission in Lamalera, and of the setting up of local schools.

The oldest datable piece of cloth from the area which has ikat letters on it comes from Larantuka and is now in Frankfurt. It was collected in 1928, and the piece (a man's belt) was no longer in very good condition; it had been worn and looked bleached-out from washing. It must already have been in use for several years when the ethnographer Vatter bought it, which makes it approximately sixty years old.

This form of ikat decoration could be much older, though, as the families of "Black Portuguese" who were the élite in the small town of Larantuka adopted much from the Portuguese (their Catholic faith and a large complement of Portuguese vocabulary), but retained certain indigenous skills and habits. They have been established in Larantuka since the sixteenth century.

To a certain degree, the Lamalera weaver may also adopt patterns which she has seen in the ikat sarongs of another region. The large floral borders and big griffins which appear on present-day cloth from Sika in central Flores and which are entirely inspired by European patterns have in turn influenced the design on quite a few festive sarongs in Lamalera. Many families in the village have sent their children to Flores for further education, and these young men and women often bring back cloth produced in their new environment. These textiles are usually made for a definite commercial purpose, i.e., to be sold in the markets, and they have little in common with the traditionally high-quality ikat of central Flores. Still they seem attractive and exotic to the women of Lamalera, and they are worn with pride, as they are a visual display of a family's far-reaching connections (Ill. 90). It is curious that predominantly those patterns are adopted for further use which are definitely of European origin. The patterns traditional to Sika are not copied, although they may also appear on the market cloths. There is a definite reluctance to adopt traditional ikat

patterns from neighbouring regions.

3. European Influence on Cloth.

Why would a community adopt one type of design and refuse another, although this other may be much admired, as are the ikat traditions of other Lamaholot regions? We know of two different outside traditions which have influenced the ikat production and weaving in Lamalera, and the Lamaholot in general. The most recent influence is the impact of the western world which changed the aspirations of the local population and had an impressive impact on their indigenous culture. As far as their material culture is concerned, it has meant the introduction and general spread of prestige objects, such as plates and glasses. Due to trade connections with mainland Asia these objects had previously found their way into the treasure chests of individuals and clans, but it is within living memory that their use became common in the villages. For cloth production this outside influence has meant the introduction of pre-dyed yarns, or the sale of machine-spun cotton which could easily be dyed at home with aniline dyes. This type of new textile has however not entirely replaced the older form of cloth production, and it has had no influence on the appearance of adat cloth. The influence of chemical dyes and bright new colours must have happened swiftly. In the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, there is a man's sarong from

Kĕdang (Inventory No. 1722.35) which by appearance alone could have been purchased this year in the local market of Balauring. It is a typical example of the nawin worn by older men: the cloth is dyed with indigo, and a pattern of fine stripes is woven into it, with aniline-dyed green and pink thread. The cotton is very fine, probably machine-spun. This piece was collected on the north coast of Lembata, in the village of Dololong, Kĕdang, in November 1909. Similarly, the cloth collection made by Vatter on Adonara, in particular in the trading villages of the south coast, shows sarongs which have all the characteristics of the "non-indigenous" and are virtually identical in their garish colours and their generally very poor quality of ikat with present-day sarongs from those villages. This shows that a process which we associate with the present day was actually already firmly entrenched by the 1920's. The time of change must be put back at least to the beginning of our century.

What did the new designs and colours replace? One still finds women making and wearing festive sarongs which are entirely manufactured from natural dyes. Their design then is very much like the two-panel bridewealth cloth, only the basic colour will not be red, but blue/black (indigo). These cloths are still frequently seen on market days when they are worn by women from the Lĕrĕk Peninsula and from Ili Api. If made with care, the cloth can be very appealing. However, another version of the women's cloth, also made

entirely from local products, is the most typical and plainest work sarong. This cloth is made for daily wear only, with no pretence at fancy decoration. Again in the Rijksmuseum, Leiden, there are two textiles which are the oldest collected in the Solor Archipelago, therefore the oldest with a certain date (Inventory Nos. 16.117 and 16.116). Both were collected in 1861 on the island of Solor. Both are women's sarongs, and, to judge by their unassuming decoration of simple stripes without ikat, they were intended for daily wear, as work sarongs. The quality of the thread and weaving are unremarkable if not poor, and there is little attraction in the two cloths. Sarongs of this kind one sees women wear when they are working at home or in the fields. It is this type of cloth, which is made for daily use, that has been changed most in appearance by the arrival of industrial dyes and machine-spun cotton. The function of this cloth can also be taken over entirely by imported cloth made in Ujung Pandang (Makassar) or on Java. There is no historical proof that industrialised forms of fabric production so far have pushed out any indigenous form entirely. However, the festive sarong of Lamalera, or its equivalent elsewhere in the Lamaholot region, will usually show recent influences from outside. These will manifest themselves in the aniline dyes, and in patterns which go back to direct Western influence: in flowers, Christian symbols, or in letters for personal names or slogans.

This brings us back to the earlier question of why Western images have been accepted while neighbouring ikat traditions continue to have little influence on the local tradition, although they could be easily and directly copied, since they are in the same technique. I was able to observe this local independence of patterns in Lamalera, and the same could be found in any other area where ikat cloth was traditionally produced. Although geographically often close, and certainly in occasional trading contact with one another for centuries, the various centres of weaving can be clearly distinguished. Nevertheless we are dealing with only one language area here in which people mutually understand each other, and culturally different regions show only minor variations on constant themes.

The ikat patterns used identify the weaver and associate her with her village and, in some regions, even with a particular clan in that village. It is acceptable for a woman to adopt patterns, for her own, personal, festive wear, which please her, but which have otherwise no particular association of place or origin in the local environment of Lamaholot. It is not possible, however, to claim a new identity, as one would do if one adopted the traditional patterns of another region.

This attitude was articulated as follows: when asked why particular patterns were admired, but not used, the villagers always answered, "we are not accustomed to the

pattern, we were given different designs by our ancestors." In the opinion of the weaver, a restriction is imposed as far as traditional patterns are concerned. It is due to this attitude that within the Lamaholot region, local weaving traditions and particular stylistic approaches have remained distinct.

The eager acceptance of Western models is something peculiar to Lamalera. In no other weaving community in Lamaholot have I seen the same adaptability to this particular outside influence. No doubt this can be explained by the high prestige associated with anything Western. The influence of European industry and technology, and the nature of Western life, is interesting, if at times curious, to the people of Lamalera. As we shall see when discussing the village's history, trying out something new has been part of life in this community for as long as they can look back.

4. The Patola Trade.

Another, earlier, wave of external influences on local textiles can be seen in a similar light. I have mentioned repeatedly the import of Indian textiles into this part of the world which had a fundamental impact on the appearance of the indigenous ikat cloth.

Cloths of various origins were major trade items brought in from the outside throughout the early history of Portuguese and Dutch relations with eastern Indonesia.

The Solor Islands were on the route to the Moluccas which the Portuguese and Dutch followed in search of the spice trade. There is no reason to assume that they, in turn, did not continue along the traditional sea ways used for centuries prior to their arrival by the Chinese, Indian, and Arab merchant ships (cf. van Leur 1955: 4). The Portuguese began visiting Solor by 1515, and they established a stone fortification in 1566. This was taken over by the Dutch in 1613, several years before they made any settlements on Java. The Europeans found a trade which was already well established, and they had to bring for exchange goods which they knew had been accepted from previous non-European traders. Both Dutch and Portuguese records cite the Indonesians' request for patola cloths from the earliest days of their contacts in eastern Indonesia. These are silk double-ikat cloths, approximately 4m. long and elaborately decorated. They were, and still are, made in Gujarat, on the west coast of India. The merchant ships collected the textiles in the Gujarati ports and used them as prestigious gifts to secure trade rights or political loyalty.

The patola provide a singular opportunity to analyse different forms of adaptation. They were sometimes copied directly and completely, as happened on Roti; in other cases particular patterns and general design concepts were taken over and merged with the indigenous ikat cloth.

On Roti the patola cloths were accepted as signs of nobility and political power, as they were gifts

handed over by the Dutch East Indies Company (V.O.C.) to those the Company thought it could depend on for loyalty (see Fox 1977: 98). The early contacts between Dutch or Portuguese traders and the population of the Lamaholot area is not as well documented, and hardly any memory of them is evident in local history. The documents available concern mainly Fort Henricus on Solor, and the Portuguese settlement at Larantuka. The Dutch accounts deal at some length with the relationships which had to be established with local rules in order to maintain the fortification. These "rulers" provided at first a problem to the Dutch: they noticed to their disgust that the Solorese did not seem to have any strict form of rule. Therefore it was necessary to appoint a monarch in order to have a middleman to address, both for military and for trade support.

The power gamble between local families of fame or influence may have been very complex indeed. Presentations made by the European traders could emphasize political and military loyalty. It is clear from the documents available that the Indian cloths were among the favoured gifts requested and received by the appointed ruling families.

But the double-ikat cloths were not only in the possession of the local nobility. Evidently they could be bought from the Dutch and Portuguese, but also from Indian, Malay, and Indonesian traders. They must have spread throughout the Solor Archipelago. Their presence has been

documented in East Flores, on Solor, Adonara, and Lembata (Beckering 1911: 178; Vatter 1932: 76; Maxwell 1981: 57-60). As will be shown later, their influence on local ikat designs was especially strong on Solor and on the south coast of Lembata.

From the earliest mention of patola imports, the cloths were spoken of as signs of prestige and rank, rather than merely as commodities with a certain market value. They were paralleled with the elephant tusks which also came in from the outside, and were spoken of as objects of high social value. They could also reinforce a political treaty, as in one instance mentioned in a Dutch report of 19th January 1654. The village of Lamahala, Adonara, made a treaty of neutrality with the Portuguese of Larantuka, Flores, in which Lamahala gave two slaves and nineteen patola to clinch the treaty, while the Portuguese were to return an elephant tusk, but never did (Coolhaas 1960, vol. 2: 684).

Eventually the patola influenced the structure and design of indigenous cloth to a large extent. As nowadays the production of adat cloth is very conservative in design, and new patterns may not be added, it remains a matter of speculation why the patola patterns were acceptable.

The European influence on textiles, however, has so far had no effect on the adat cloth. In the Lamaholot area, it seems to be relatively recent, probably within the

last 100 years, and it spread very quickly. Museum collections gathered since the end of the nineteenth century reveal that there is no difference between cloth made eighty years ago and cloth made today. This is true both for daily wear and for adat cloth. Textiles collected in the late 1920's by Vatter are identical with those found nowadays on the islands. This holds for the garish stripes and crude ikat of Adonara cloth as well as for the two-panel or three-panel adat sarong coloured with natural dyes. Vatter collected numerous cloths from Lamalera, and many of these reminded me strongly of work seen in the village now, as though they were the work of mother and daughter. Again, there were not two identical pieces, but it is obvious that the standard of weaving has been kept up.

CHAPTER VIII: CLAN OWNERSHIP OF PATTERNS AND CLOTH

Clothing is often an expression of social position and rank; after protection, this must be one of the key functions of dress. Cloth and clothing emphasises the position of the wearer. Numerous stories and visual representations in our own culture underline the importance of the costume to define the individual. Until the rise of interest in the specific appearance of a person, and in the effect a state of mind or emotion has on him or her, portraiture identified through dress and additional emblems. Literature is full of examples where dress is used to deceive: a new coat brings a new identity, from Mozart's Cosi fan tutte to Keller's Kleider machen Leute.

1. Clans and Patterns.

In Indonesia, the defining message which the costume carries is achieved by various manners of folding, by colours worn, and by specific patterns which adorn the cloth. Fox has mentioned that on Savu the women's ceremonial sarongs are divided into two groups, reflecting a division within the island. According to this division a person belongs not only to the father's clan, but also, through one's mother, to either one of the two "Blossoms", the "Greater Blossom" or the "Lesser Blossom". Each blossom is again divided

into approximately six subgroups which are referred to as "seeds" (wini).

> Men will know which Blossom they belong to, but they will rarely know more than that. Women know about the seeds, and this knowledge is crucial for the arrangment of marriages as well as for many aspects of life-cycle ceremonies, particularly funerals (Fox 1977: 98-99).

However, the women's knowledge about the seeds is not transmitted verbally, but is passed from mother to daughter as a visual display of the appropriate patterns on women's sarongs. These designs are so important, it is said, that if ever a woman dared to wear the wrong sarong at a funeral, other women would tear it from her body.

This report from Savu provides an interesting comparison to Lamalera. There particular patterns are claimed by specific clans. However while Fox's report implies that the distinct association of patterns is a rule which is followed completely in reality, the situation in Lamalera is more obscure. I also was told, just as Fox mentions from Savu, that "the ancestors" used to feel so strongly about the prohibition on wearing anything other than the appropriate pattern that the women would tear off another woman's sarong if she should dare to wear a pattern

not appropriate to her clan. Today, the prescription no longer applies, I was told.

Nothing like the division into matrilineal moieties, as mentioned by Fox, has been discovered for the Lamaholot. With minor local variations, they and the Kédang share the same descent and alliance system. Descent is patrilineal, and the alliance between clans is based on an asymmetric marriage prescription. Variations in the relationship terminology exist, but they are only varying aspects of the same theme. Because certain patterns are associated with particular clans, but women move from one clan to another at marriage, the patterns move as well. Through her marriage, a woman gains the right to use her husband's clan's pattern, which she may (or may not) choose to learn. Her daughter, who by prescription will have to marry into a clan different from her mother's, will have the knowledge of both her mother's and her father's clans' designs, and can acquire that of her new clan. In a rigid model of asymmetric alliance, a woman's mother-in-law would come from her own clan. The right to use a certain pattern, once acquired, is not lost by future generations of women, and in this sense one can speak of an inheritance which is transferred only by women. Because the patterns belong to the clans, however, and are not part of an <u>independent</u> feminine knowledge in the community, the situation is quite different from Fox's description of Savu designs.

Lamalera is predominantly a village of outsiders who have adapted themselves to the Lamaholot environment. Their alliance system reflects the local culture, but genealogies show that the marriage prescription has for some time permitted a good deal of personal choice (cf. Barnes 1974a: 295-304, for a discussion of differences between the ideal system and social action, as it applies in Kĕdang). In this situation, it is obvious that patterns, although they belong to a certain clan, can spread throughout the village. At least in Lamalera, the ikat patterns seen on the women's sarongs do not divide the community into defined groups.

Maxwell (1981: 57) suggests that as the more difficult skills of ikat are acquired after marriage, a woman might learn these from her mother-in-law. In Lamalera, however, a woman will usually return to her mother for advice and guidance in this case, rather than to her mother-in-law. To elaborate further on the point of which patterns a woman might accept for her own work, it is even likely that a woman will not learn the patterns associated with her husband's clan, because she still feels closer to the women of her own clan. Furthermore, I have known sisters who picked up different patterns, belonging to separate clans, and then claimed them as appropriate for them. One sister used the design of the clan she grew up in, the other the pattern of their mother's original clan.

As on Savu, only women weavers know anything in

detail about the ownership of certain patterns. Because of the circulation of patterns throughout the village, the appropriate association has become very obscure. I was given several lists of clans owning patterns, but no two were alike. Only one clan, Belikololong, was consistently and by all associated with the same pattern, that of ata dikã (man). This clan descends from the oldest of the three sons of the community's founder, Korohama. I was told by two informants that in fact only the descendants of the first arrivals to Lamalera, in effect the part of the village which traces its origin to Seran via Lapan Batan, were the owners of specific patterns.

In repeated conversations, the following patterns could be confirmed in their association with particular clans:

Belikololong: ata dikã. The only association which was given with an attempt at explanation: because the clan descends from the oldest brother, it has a right to the most honourable design.

Batafor: beléré, pusu rebõ.

Bataona: moku bélã.

Lélaona: taru matã, both versions. The clan owns a patolu which has influenced both versions.

Oléona: menué.

Sulaona: ketipa. The clan owns a patolu (ketipa) and this pattern is a direct copy of it.

Lamanudak: gaja penapã.

All patterns mentioned as belonging to a specific clan are appropriate for the central section. The patterns of the outer parts of the sarong are explicitly not associated with any clan. I was told by two informants that, e.g., tẽna, tẽna tuba moku, mẽkot, and kelapã are designs which belong to the whole village. The clans mentioned above all do in fact trace their descent to Lapan Batan, with the exception of Lẽlaona. This clan, however, was part of the original group of outsiders who settled in Lamalera; its ancestors arrived as attendants from Nualẽla accompanying the Lapan-Batan group. The relationship between the latter and Lẽlaona has not been without problems; the once wealthy clan Lẽlaona has been looked upon with suspicion in the past and was even accused of witchcraft. All those clans which have arrived from elsewhere are never mentioned in connection with the ownership of patterns.

There is, in my opinion, a link between the close association of clans with particular patterns and the time when patola influences were accepted. All designs which are claimed by certain clans are suitable for the central panel of the three-panel bridewealth cloth, and those patterns in turn show definite patola influences, as will be demonstrated below. First, however, I want to turn to the Indian cloths themselves, and to the position they have in the village. This will also be relevant for the

association of clans with certain patterns.

2. Cloth as Treasure.

In addition to the adat cloth used in the village, there are other precious cloths found in Lamalera. These all come from outside. They are not nearly as conspicuous as the bridewealth cloths. While the latter belong to individual households, the former are always clan treasures. It is quite simple to see the traditional cloth owned by a family. The two- and three-panel cloths are usually tucked away in a box containing the valuables of the household, but one only has to ask whether there are any in the house, and almost certainly one or two pieces will be shown. The bridewealth cloth is also occasionally hung out to air, and of course it comes into full view at the time of marriage exchanges. The imported cloth, however, is much more guarded, and only persistent inquiry brings such cloths to light. It was clear to me from the very beginning of my investigations into cloth design in Lamalera that the patterns were strongly influenced by cloth from the outside, in particular patola, yet I was repeatedly told that there was no foreign cloth to be found in the village, other than what had recently been imported. One evening, however, a friend gave me an enthusiastic description of the great festivities which occur when a new clan house, lango bélã, has been finished. A few years before, the house of the clan

Lewotukan had been rebuilt. Lewotukan is a prominent clan in which for many years the position of kakang, a deputy ruler to the Raja of Larantuka, was held. The last is still alive, and is an articulate and much respected old man. For the consecration of the clan house he had made it clear that the slaughtering of an animal, a buffalo, was a sacrificial act required by the customary law of the ancestors. Two large cloths were offered to the buffalo before his throat was cut with a sword: they were a very long three-panel adat cloth and a nofi belaja. My inquiries into what was meant by a nofi belaja led my friend to a search through the village to find one such piece. She was not sure which clan had one for me to see, and we had to do some asking around until we were led to the lango bélã of the clan Ebaona. By then my expectations had been built up by the vivid descriptions of the cloth, and I was quite disappointed when the cloth was brought out. There were in fact two pieces, both designated nofi belaja. They were large cotton cloths with printed designs, one not unlike the Indian bedspreads which became fashionable in Europe about fifteen years ago, the other with a batik design (Ill. 92). The batik pattern was not Javanese, however. I was told that both cloths had been bought by the grandfather of the present inhabitant of the house, himself now a man in his sixties. He had got them from Buton, i.e., Makassar, traders. One can assume, then, that these cotton print textiles have been in Lamalera about 100 years.

Although patola were the most valuable cloths traded into eastern Indonesia in the wake of the Indian trade, in sheer quantity they were far out-numbered by other types of cloth, much of it plain, some of it patterned. The textile trade of the Dutch in Indonesia declined during the eighteenth century, due in part to the increasing British dominance over India, which restricted Dutch trading there. Indonesian, in particular Makassarese, traders filled the continuing demand for "exotic" cloth with cheaper cloth, often made in Indonesia itself. It is obvious that the nofi belaja of Lamalera comes from this period.

My interest in the presence of the nofi belaja led to another discovery. The discusssion turned again to imported cloth, and a second type of cloth was then mentioned, the ketipa. While the nofi belaja deserved a certain reverence because of its foreign origin and its age, I heard that a ketipa was even more significant. It was described to me spontaneously as a cloth decorated with mofa, i.e., ikat, but with ikat on both warp and weft, and made of silk. It was also said that this type of cloth was brought into the community "a long time ago", before the ancestors came from Lapan Batan and were possibly traded from the Portuguese. When I asked whether the ketipa was once used for bridewealth, as has been reported by Vatter (1932: 76), the answer was negative. After some hesitation it was said that possibly, a very long time ago, the silk

cloths could be used in the exchange of marriage prestations. But now a ketipa is definitely a clan treasure which may not leave the clan house with which it is associated. There was general consensus that there were several ketipa to be found in the village, but the cloth was considered so sacred that it was hardly ever seen, and consequently the knowledge of which clan actually owned one was quite vague.

My interest in this type of cloth, however, led to a search through the village for a ketipa. A friend took me to the lango bêlã of a clan where she thought we would find one, but there we were disappointed in our quest and were merely directed to another clan. In retrospect it seems quite amusing how we went from one lango bêlã to the next, led on by the assurance that so-and-so probably had one of the cloths, only to arrive and be assured that there was no ketipa to be found in the clan treasury, although people were glad to bring out big tusks and old swords, and in one case even a gold-handled kris given to an ancestor of the clan, according to legend by Gaja Mada himself, when this ancestor was still in Sulewesi. I was asked to photograph all these treasures, yet there was no ketipa in sight. Finally, however, we were directed to the clan house of Sulaona, and there we were assured that there was, indeed, a ketipa among the valuables of the clan. A young woman was the only one in the house at the time, and she climbed into the rafters and re-emerged with a cobwebbed basket tied up with string. She put down the parcel and

then lost her nerve. A long discussion followed between her and my friend who had brought me there. It transpired that the woman felt she could not open the parcel, after all, because the moon was not full, and therefore the cloth would be brittle, unravelled and full of holes, and would fall apart. Also she seemed very upset about something in the parcel which she called a snake, which would come out and destroy the house. So after this build-up we had to leave again without having seen the ketipa in the parcel. On our way home my friend told me that the woman's argument about the state of the moon in connection with the cloth was true. They had observed (she said) that all old cloth disintegrated as the moon waned, and became complete again as the moon became full. For this reason, she insisted, all big feasts had to be held at full moon, when their precious cloth which was to be worn was complete. It was not just a ketipa which was subject to this cycle of destruction and restoration, but old adat cloth as well.

The following day we returned to Sulaona's house with an old woman from the clan who assured me that it would be quite all right to open the parcel now and that she would undertake to do so. The collection of clan treasures was brought down from the rafters again, and the woman untied it in our presence. There was great excitement among all present, and the young woman I had met the day before in the house kept jumping back from the parcel as though she expected something to sting her.

Finally the cloth came into full view--and it was indeed a patolu. The old woman who had unpacked the basket took the cloth to the door so I would be able to photograph it. This was thought to be all right, but she said she could not actually leave the house with it. This cloth must not under any circumstances leave the clan house and be taken elsewhere. The patolu was quite brittle and had several holes in it; this was said to be not because it was very old, but because the moon was not quite full any more (I saw the cloth on the third day after the full moon).

Besides the silk cloth, there was a very small cloth, called a senai (shoulder cloth)--it was in fact so tiny that it could not have been worn by any human--and a silver chain, lodang, with a little snake's head on one end and something like tail flippers at the other end. It was this silver chain which had caused the general excitement and the nervousness of the young woman. It was believed to be alive, and it was said that it would move if offered some tobacco. An older man of the clan came forward and placed some small bits of tobacco near its mouth; at this point everyone jumped and screamed, but the chain did not move. The old man then simply explained that the snake was already dead, after all, and there was no reason to be afraid. The concept that a silver chain represents a snake is common in this part of Indonesia. This is no ordinary snake, but the guardian spirit of the clan's

well-being. It is generally benevolent and watches over the well-being of the clan, but it is also so powerful that if it is left unattended or is improperly handled, it can lose control and bring destruction, by blighting the crops or other means of livelihood the clan has (i.e., in Lamalera cause a scarcity of fish).[1]

While I was still looking at the silk cloth and the other treasures, my husband came up from the beach and said that there was great excitement there about my having looked at the cloth on a working day, while the boats were out at sea. The young woman who had previously shown a great deal of nervousness about opening the treasure parcel had run down to the boatsheds and had said she was afraid that the boat of Sulaona would encounter danger at sea or catch no fish because I had taken out the patolu. She was reassured by some older people that nothing would happen as long as the cloth did not leave the clan house, but nevertheless I was extremely upset and embarrassed about my unwitting blunder. Although the clan elders said that nothing improper had been done, some people obviously thought that the cloth should only be looked at on a day when the

---

[1] See Barnes (1973: 611; 1974a: 105, 107) for a discussion of the snake as a guardian of wealth and well-being in Kédang, also Vatter (1932: 153) on the association of the "dragon snake" naga with the village temple.

boats were not out, and when that day coincided with a full moon. I would never have been able to see the cloth under these conditions during my four months in Lamalera. I spent the rest of the day anxiously awaiting the return of the boats and was more than relieved when the "Dolu Tẽnã", the boat of Sulaona was safely back ashore and even brought in a giant manta ray.

Some weeks later I was shown another patolu, under circumstances which were much less charged with emotion. This one belonged to the clan Lẽlaona and was also kept in the clan house, wrapped up and locked in a wooden chest. As in the treasury of Sulaona, here also a silver chain in the shape of a small snake was kept with it. The snake was again said to have been alive formerly, but had now broken and could not be revived. I may add that although both chains were no longer believed to be alive, they were treated as though they were. Tobacco was offered, and when I had seen the contents of the treasure parcel, they were carefully wrapped up again. It would be inconceivable for the clan to let even a "dead" chain out of the clan house. Although it may be lifeless now, one could not guarantee that it would remain so. The patolu of Lẽlaona was better preserved than that of Sulaona. Its large central field also had a different pattern (Ill. 94).

In addition to these two examples, I know of one more silk cloth in the possession of the clan Belikololong.

It was not possible to see this, however, as it was safely locked away in the clan's treasure box, for which the key had been lost, and the only spare key was in the hands of someone who lived in Larantuka, on Flores. However, some time ago a woman had copied the pattern of the central field because she wanted to use it in an ikat design, and she let me see her copy. It showed yet another pattern, an ornate version of the eight-pointed star (Bühler 1979, motif type 11).[2]

I have said that it was quite easy for me to see the patolu of Lêlaona. Here, too, however, there was more to the story. Shortly after my arrival I had visited the same house, and had then asked about imported cloth. It was denied that any such thing existed in the village. As the same people were happy to show me the cloth some months later, I can only assume that they had overcome an initial suspicion about my reasons for enquiring after this type of cloth. Europeans have collected several Indian patolu from Lembata, Solor, and Adonara (cf. the collections in Basel and Frankfurt), and, although I do not doubt that these were properly acquired, it was obvious that the people of Lamalera did not want their own patola to be bought up. To avoid any embarrassment they flatly denied that the cloths had ever been heard of,

---

[2] In 1982, I visited the clan house of Ola Langun and also was shown a ketipa. This one, however, had disintegrated beyond recognition of the patterns. It still was kept as a clan treasure.

let alone were to be found in the village. Only when they were sure that I was not interested in any purchase and would respect (as much as I knew how to do) their own attitude to the cloths, was I allowed to see them.

Because the patola in Lamalera are so carefully guarded and are virtually never exposed to the general public, I think some of the ignorance of their whereabouts is genuine. People often know the treasures of another clan only by rumour. But in addition, my experience with precious imported cloths shows that there is also a great concern that these cloths must be guarded against outsiders who may persuade the clan elders to let the fabric out of their hands. All four ketipa I know of in the village had the status of sacred objects which should never leave the clan if this was to continue to prosper. The former kakang of Lamalera told us that his clan, Lewotukan, also used to have a ketipa, but it had been given to the Church. He believed that it might still be in the vicarage, but the local missionary did not know of its existence. The gift must have taken place before his arrival seventeen years before. No resentment was expressed about this gift on the side of Lewotukan, and no mention of ill fortune which might have befallen the clan. The first European missionary in Lamalera, however, the German Bernardus Bode, was a very forceful man who believe in drastic measures for conversion. He had all the sacred offering stones, nuba nara, collected and buried under the new church he erected, and he made a

point of building the missionary post in a sacred gove which formerly was not inhabited. He also encouraged the people to turn over their clan treasures, such as tusks, and presumably snake chains and cloth. In this way he succeeded in destroying virtually all of Lamalera's most obvious "heathen" practices. The indigenous practices of the villagers survived, however, in essential parts only because the people quickly adopted certain Catholic paraphernalia, such as holy water and a prayer to God, in place of chicken blood and chants for the ancestors and Lero Wulan--Tana Ekan (the traditional name of the Deity, referring to Sun-Moon and to the Earth). There was little, and now is even less, resentment against the Catholic mission in general, as it helped bring prosperity to the village by opening up new opportunities for its children. The advantage of good schooling and skilled jobs, training which is still primarily offered through the Church, has brought many positive changes into most families in Lamalera. Nevertheless, in some aspects which are considered vital by the community, there is simply quiet withdrawal. Certain things are never mentioned to the missionary, so they must not exist in stark defiance of the Church, but exist quite harmoniously (to the people of Lamalera, at least) side by side. We realized this aspect of Lamalera life on our first visit to the village, when we noticed how strongly traditional were the fishery and all ceremonies connected with it. The missionaries up to now have remained

surprisingly uninterested in the traditional habits here, probably because they do not usually go out to sea with the fishermen and only see and consider the catch which results. One might say that where they have not been explicitly told so, the people of Lamalera see little reason for change. That a confrontation and call for change may even be deliberately avoided we realized again on our first stay when we paid an unannounced visit to the nearby community of Lewotala, which shares much of Lamalera's landbound culture (they do virtually no fishing, however). The Dutch missionary, Arnoldus Dupont, accompanied us on the trip and took us to several clan houses in the village. There we found, to Dupont's great surprise, several skulls of ancestors prominently displayed on a large bamboo platform. In all the years of his work in the parish he had never seen these before, although he had been invited into the same houses many times. But he had never come unexpectedly, so that on previous visits the skulls could always be put away before his arrival. There was some embarrassment about this at the time of our visit, but then several men spoke up and said that they were afraid he would take them away and bury them under the church, as Bode had done.

So whether it concerns skulls, tusks, or cloth, there is general caution about outsiders when they request to see these things. This does not apply to the cloth and tusks which circulate as part of the bridewealth exchange.

Although these gifts are the property of specific households, they are potentially transient, as they are offered as gifts at the time of marriage. The ketipa, however, has assumed the status of clan treasures and has become an object not valued for its economic worth. It would be impossible to say how much a ketipa is worth to the people of Lamalera in terms of money or goods. Its value lies entirely in the spiritual and social well-being which it brings to the clan and which it helps to keep in it.

CHAPTER IX: THE ORIGINS OF PATOLA-TYPE PATTERNS

Considering how important the imported Indian silk cloths are to the well-being of the clans who have owned them since the "time of the ancestors", it is not surprising that the designs which are associated with certain clans are all influenced by, or are direct copies of, patola patterns. They all are used in the central panel of the three-panel bridewealth cloth. I will first consider the patterns which I myself have seen in the village.

1. Direct Patola Copies.

The overwhelming majority of those designs suitable for the central section can be traced to patola export cloth, and, with the exception of petolã and nuba, all are mentioned in connection with particular clans. The omission of the two patterns from any potential list was, I think, due to the general uncertainty of just which design should be connected with which clan. The patterns ketipa and petolã are associated with the Indian cloth already by their name.[1] Ketipa belurã

[1] It must be stressed that the meaning of petolã is not generally known in Lamalera, while ketipa is familiar. Only some older women with an unusual interest and skill in ikat design made the connection and translated petolã as ketipa. On Solor, the western Lamaholot word for "star", petala, is both the stars in the sky and a pattern on the red sarong, kewatek méan (Ill. 121). The star pattern is certainly patola-influenced.

("fine ketipa") is said to be the pattern of Sulaona because it is a copy of the patolu (Lamaholot, ketipa) owned by that clan (Ill. 93). The wide central field of the Indian prototype for ketipa belurã is decorated with rows of plants with single and triple flowers, separated by small lozenges placed between both at an angle of forty-five degrees. The entire central design is taken over in the Lamalera copy, although the appearance is quite new, as the colours used are completely different. For an example of the original cloth type see Bühler (1979, motif type 8)(Ill. 95). Petolã is a pattern which may be a copy of motif type 32 (cf. also Bühler 1979: pl. 233, a woman's sarong from Flores, which is related to the Lamalera petolã). It may also, however, be an imitation of certain details characteristic of patola cloths rather than being a complete copy. The light rectangular fields and rhombic with cross in the centre are found in numerous versions as details on patola, characteristically at the intersection between two lozenges (Ill. 95). A similar interpretation as in petolã is also found in the double-ikat geringsing cloths of Tenganan, Bali (Ramseyer 1975/6: illustration 77). Nuba, like petolã seems to pick up a single design element from the patola, rather than depending on an elaborate prototype, cf. the border lozenges of motif type 25 (Bühler 1979).

Belére is again a complete copy of a type of patolu which was especially popular as an export to Southeast Asia

(Bühler 1979, motif type 25). The prototype is characterised by medallions and small eight-pointed stars set as a geometric zig-zag of squares placed point to point with each other. The clan Lélaona owns a patolu of this type (Ill. 94). Clearly for this reason, I was told occasionally that belére is a pattern which belongs to this clan. Women weavers, whose information was usually reliable, linked the pattern with the clan Batafor. Lélaona also claims the two versions of taru matã, which are closely related to belére. While the latter design copies the entire main field pattern of the prototype, the taru matã patterns have taken up different parts of the complete design (Ill. 84,85). My informants were aware that belére and both versions of taru matã were copied from a patolu. I think it is likely that both Lélaona and the clan Batafor once owned patola of motif type 25. As in the case of the clan Sulaona, which is supposed to own the pattern ketipa because it is a copy of its treasured silk cloth, both belére and taru matã are associated with certain clans because they are the direct copy of a patolu in the clan's treasure chest.

2. Ata Dikã.

For the ata dikã ("man") design, on the other hand, I did not come across any awareness of its origin in Indian export cloths. The design is not obviously human in appearance. But, as all patterns in Lamalera are descriptive, the "man"

must be visible in it somewhere, even if this is no longer obvious to the people of Lamalera. I think the design can be linked to the abstract human representations found in other parts of Indonesia. Close to Lamalera, one can find human figures on the cloth of Atadei (Ill. 96; see also Maxwell 1981; fig. 3). They are drawn in stick-like outlines and always appear in a frontal position. Similar representations of the human figure also appear in the cloths of the southern Moluccas, of central Flores, Timor and Sumba.[2] Single figures have their arms raised. However, they may also be linked with each other at the feet and hands.

The Lamalera pattern called "man", ata dikã, has at first glance little in common with these simple stick-figure images. It is, instead, closely related to the borders of many patola, with flowering plants (Ill. 97, also Fig. 39). Why then was it called "man"? The only way to interpret the design as representing a human figure is to see it in the abstract and ornate way of ancestor representations, as they have been discussed by Jager Gerlings (1952). His important study has linked the representation of the human figure on textiles with the use of these textiles in certain ceremonies which evoke a connection with the world of the ancestors. This may be in war or fertility ceremonies and in particular at a burial.

[2] See Gittinger 1979a, pls. 122, 129, 139, 151, 153; all show the same frontal representation.

Jager Gerlings's examples come in particular from the Tonoling region of Sulawesi and the Iban of Sarawak. Both of these traditions have produced warp ikat cloths with anthropomorphic designs of great abstraction, sometimes beyond an immediate recognition of the human figure. Characteristically, these figures are linked to each other, not only by holding hands and touching feet, as we have see on the "man" design from Atadei, Lembata and from Timor, but by sharing limbs and spinal columns (see Ill. 98).

A wide-ranging comparative study on the theme of these "linked ancestor-figures" has been undertaken by Schuster (1965). His point of departure is a silk warp ikat found in a Japanese collection. The circumstances for dating the cloth are extremely fortunate, as the textile has probably been in the Shōsōin shrine in Nara, the old imperial capital, since the Asuka period (A.D. 552-614). It is an import from mainland Asia, probably from China, as are most objects from this time in the shrine and imperial treasury.

However, the textile is not obviously Chinese in appearance, and in fact so far there has been no evidence that the ikat technique was practised in China at this time. But under the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-913), China was greatly influenced by western Asia. Not only was the trade route to the West, which extended into the Near East and the Mediterranean, important for Chinese commerce, but through it were introduced objects which were aesthetically valued or treasured as

curiosities. For some centuries, the Sassanian empire, and its artefacts in turn found their way into China. It is important to realize how well established this connection was, as it makes it possible to trace the ikat cloth from the Shōsōin beyond China and into Inner Asia. Bühler has expressed the opinion that the cloth probably originated in Turkestan or in an Asiatic region further to the east (Schuster 1965: 339-40). Silk warp-ikat is still a combination favoured in Turkestan (see Schuster 1965, pls. 84-86), and the linked-figure pattern is convincingly compared to ancient western Asian and Chinese textiles (though not ikat cloths)(Schuster, figs. 6-8). However, the closest analogy to the seventh-century cloth can be found in the twentieth-century cotton warp-ikat from Indonesia. Schuster refers to Jager Gerlings, and his example is an illustration from Sulawesi. It shows human figures linked in a type of design called "genealogical pattern" by Schuster, as it shows "a succession of deceased ancestors, whose arrangement in connected series provides an image of the social fabric" (p. 342, Schuster's italics). A similar interpretation to the Sulawesi cloth had already been suggested by Jager Gerlings (1952).

In my opinion, the only way to interpret the design ata dikã as actually representing a human figure is to see it in a way similar to the abstract ancestor representations of these other Indonesian textile traditions. The central

straight line represents the spinal column. In the Indian prototype, this was the stalk of the plant. The limbs branch off from it, and the head, formerly an open flower, is shown prominently on the end of the spinal column. The figure is repeated mirror-symmetrically, so that one head is shared by two spinal columns. The representation can be seen as two large figures sharing one head, or as four figures altogether. In the latter case the legs of the upper "man" (the one closest to the central large head, which is shared) would be the arms of the lower.

I think there can be no doubt that the pattern is a direct copy from the Indian patola. The silk cloth owned by Sulaona, for example, shows this common border decoration. Illustration 95, a patolu from the Basel collection, shows clearly the prototype for the ata dikã pattern in Lamalera ikat design. Here, however, it is definitely intended as a floral pattern. A vegetal ornament like this may have had a symbolic significance in the place of its origin, but I think we must assume that the people of Lamalera, when they first saw it, looked on it as "only a pattern", i.e., they knew nothing of its possible meaning. It was entirely their own interpretation to see the design as a succession of "men", one piled on top of the other. The human figure, as it appears in the ikat designs of neighbouring Atadẽi, provides the connection to the indigenous, non-patola design. The ata dikan found there is recognised as another version of ata dikã in Lamalera,

although I have not seen it in the village now. A cloth in Basel, almost certainly from Lamalera, shows this version, though (Basel IIc 14738). The Lamalera weavers have taken over a foreign design and interpreted it in a way meaningful to them. By doing so, they have linked the patola pattern to an ancient tradition of human representation, which may be charged with manifold symbolic meanings. They use a type of figural design which can be traced over one-and-a-half millennia and which links the iconography of some Indonesian textiles to Inner Asia.

3. Other Reinterpretations.

Another example of a patola pattern seen entirely in terms of a familiar motif is moku bélã̃, "large manta ray". While in the village, I was puzzled by the distinction made between the design "manta ray", moku, which is appropriate for the border, and "large manta ray", moku bélã̃, which is suitable for a central design in a three-panel sarong (Ill. 73, 13 Fig. 32). Visually, the two patterns seemed virtually identical. Moku bélã̃ is also one of the designs associated with a particular clan, most frequently with Bataona. I asked, was moku therefore also connected with Bataona? No, was the reply, moku, like all patterns exclusive to the border, belonged to everyone in the village. After my return from Lamalera, I was struck by the similarity between Bühler's motif type 1, showing heart-shaped single leaves,

and the pattern moku bélã̃. So far, a patolu with this motif type as a central design has not been found in the Lamaholot region. However, it is no doubt the model for the wide ikat panel on a sarong collected by Vatter on Solor (Ill. 28). This cloth, in turn, provides a convincing link to the moku bélã̃ design.

If moku bélã̃ is influenced by a patola design, the fact that it is set aside from the virtually identical moku makes sense in the light of the distinction made earlier between patola-influenced designs found on the central panel and band-type designs reserved for the border. As in the pattern ata dikã̃, the weaver has again reinterpreted an unfamiliar motif in familiar terms. There is no reason to doubt the conceptual origin of moku bélã̃ in moku, rather than the reverse, as the border pattern moku is found in identical, or only slightly altered, form in other ikat traditions of Lamaholot which do not attempt a copy of patola designs.

One other pattern appropriate to the centre is gaja penapã̃ (Ill. 76, Fig. 29). This translates as "part of an elephant". It is impossible, though, to connect the pattern with the image of the animal. Elephants were favorite motives on the export patola. They appeared either on their own in small, repeated fields alternating with other ornaments or animals, or in large representations, combined with the tiger hunt. Vatter collected elephant patola from

Solor and Adonara, and Basel has such a cloth from Lembata. A remarkably faithful copy of the large elephant pattern, such as seen on Vatter's Solor patolu (Frankfurt, N.S. 27955), can be seen on a sarong from Lamalera, now in Basel (IIc 14735). The gaja penapã has nothing in common with this particular copy, as Fig. 29 and Ill. 76 show. A pattern is occasionally halved, e.g., befajak penapã. The number of ikat skeins is then reduced, and the pattern does not appear in its full width. The division is always done on a central line, so that the mirror image of the penapã ("half") pattern re-create the whole. A sarong in Basel (IIc 14736, see Ill. 16) shows in a wide border design what is probably the complete pattern. This still bears no resemblance to the elephant patterns of the Indian cloths. I suggest that if a patolu with elephants was the source for the pattern, then it was of the motif type 14 (Bühler 1979). These cloths show the animals framed by lozenge shapes. Elephants alternate with birds and flowers. The complete pattern gaja, as shown on the Basel cloth, certainly reproduces the intersection of lozenge or rhombic shapes.

Another pattern difficult to locate precisely is pusu rebõ. I have seen it only once, when it was being prepared to become the central section of the three-panel cloth. Of all the patterns appropriate to the centre, this one is the least complex (Ill. 83, Fig. 35). It shows a succession of rows of triangles. The pattern is

distinctly different from the small bands of geometric ikat designs found in the outer panel, however. In the latter, white (the original cotton tone) is not used to fill a design unit, but will only trace the pattern. Most important in addition is the direction the design takes. The geometric bands of the border run horizontally while pusu rebõ goes vertically, as one sees the cloth worn. Its origin cannot be determined at this stage, and it may altogether be so basic a pattern that it would be absurd to pin it down to any one particular origin. It might have been influenced by the step-pattern borders found on numerous patola. There is nothing in it, however, which makes this connection certain.

Finally, I want to mention two sarongs in the Basel collection. I have not seen the patterns of their central panels in the village, but the cloths are certainly from Lamalera (IIc 14458, 15958). Both have a central panel which is directly influenced by the large centre patterns of certain patola, one of motif type 11, the other of motif type 23.

The pattern menué I have also not seen in the village. It does appear, though, on a cloth collected by Vatter (Frankfurt, N.S. 28110). It is a small swastika-shape set into a lozenge. It has, to my knowledge, no counterpart in Bühler's collection of motif types.

4. The Position of Indian and Lamaholot Patterns on the Cloth.

I now briefly want to describe the relative position of the patola-type design, both on the original cloth and

in the Lamalera copy. The patolu and eastern Indonesian sarong are treated alike in that they are not tailored once they come off the loom. Otherwise, however, there is little they have in common. The first, striking difference is the size. All patola are approximately 4m. long and 1.5m. wide. They are thus much larger than the local sarongs, even once these have been sewn together from two or three separately woven parts. Patola have a very large central field with borders on all four sides. The narrow ends are decorated with wide floral or triangular designs. This format has been copied literally in some Indonesian ikat cloths, such as Roti, but is largely ignored in the Solor Archipelago.

Taru matã, ketipa, petolã, belére, and probably gaja (penapã), come from the large central area of the original patola. Ata dikã appears only in the borders of the Indian prototype. One more pattern, an elaborate version of the triangular motif, is also faithfully copied (Ill. 75). This is the pattern called futu galã which is sometimes found at the beginning of the ikat work. In this case, then, the original position of the pattern is comparable to its adopted use in Lamalera (Ill. 100).

As in the Indian original, the patola-type patterns have all become the focus of the central section. But while the prototype has a very large central field, the central panels in Lamalera cloths are never more than approximately one-third of the length of the complete sarong.

Two points can now be made about the influence Indian cloth has had on the ikat design of the Solor Islands. First of all, there never appears a faithful copy of the entire patola composition, such as occurs in the cloth of Roti. The weavers of Lamalera and other centres of ikat production may at times take over a pattern completely, or use only parts of it, but there is no attempt to make a copy of the Indian cloth as a whole. The patterns, which are originally found on very large fabrics of rectangular shape, are inevitably adapted to the tubular shape of the sarong.

Secondly, the patola influence is evident only on the female sarong. In most areas of Lamaholot only women's sarongs have ikat decorations, but even where this is not the case, as in East Flores, where men's sarongs are also adorned with ikat, the men's patterns owe nothing to the Indian textiles. They consist of narrowly arranged bands of minute, bead-like ikat ornaments. The reason for the exclusive association with women's cloth probably lies in the patola's high value as a gift, which may originally have been associated with the bridewealth cloth. In Lamalera I found no positive evidence that patola were in fact used as bridal gifts, but their use as such is reported from neighbouring areas.

CHAPTER X: CLOTH AS GIFT

There are two occasions in Lamalera when cloths are important as gifts: at marriage and at death. Of the two, the gifts appropriate at marriage are by far the more ostentatious. The elaborate burial preparations which are reported from elsewhere in eastern Indonesia (e.g. Roti, Sumba) are not found in Lamalera. At the marriage, however, the display of textiles can be impressive.

1. Marriage Prestations.

When a couple decides to get married, the parents of the bride and groom inform the elders of their clans of the prospective match. Both clans will then gather in a general meeting, called sigé, to discuss the event. At this gathering, the required marriage gifts are announced. A pig is killed and cooked by the prospective husband's clan (the wife-taker), betel is offered, and palmwine is drunk. The meat must be served on the simplest kind of plate: palm-leaves are tied together to shape a bowl (Ill. 90). All the entertaining is done by the wife-taking clan.

The goods to be exchanged with the actual marriage are clearly defined. From the woman's side they consist always of cloth, called tukã̃-hebã̃ in the formal language used during the discussion of the required prestations, and of

several sets of ivory bracelets, kala. The man's family will have to find the necessary tusks, bala. There are ideally two parts to the exchange; one is directly between the bride's family and the groom's clan, the other is a smaller set of prestations between the latter and the bride's mother's brother, her opu-pukã̃.

All exchanges of tusks, cloths, and bracelets are measured in terms of a unit called kesebõ̃. Beckering (1911: 193) refers to kaseboeng as a unit of payment in his account of Labala merchandise and trading in copra, salt, cloth, and other market goods. He says it is equivalent to five Dutch guilders. In Lamalera, the kesebõ̃ is not (or no longer) used when measuring market goods; it is the exclusive term for discussing the value of marriage prestations.

The size of the tusk given and the number of bridewealth cloths and bracelets returned are related to each other. The gift of the tusk is measured as in Fig. 40. The comparative measurement is always the human body; the base of the tusk is held in the outstretched hand of one arm and the value judged according to the expansion across the chest. The two smallest measurements, lẽma (five) and pito (seven) refer directly to the number of kesebõ̃, units, the tusk length is worth.

Were all tusks given to the bride's clan and her mother's brother, a total of six would have to be found. In reality, no more than two tusks are commonly given now. It

was, in fact, impossible for us to follow up the precise measurements and numbers of tusks exchanged, as for the weddings which we attended no tusks had been found and the prestation had to be delayed. This practice is not uncommon, although it is always criticised by the clan elders when they make their formal address.

The appropriate return gift for a "five unit tusk", bala lẽma, is a two-panel bridewealth cloth, kewatek nai ruã; a three-panel cloth is required in return for a "seven unit tusk", bala pito. Either cloth has to be accompanied by a set of five ivory bracelets. The bracelets come in two varieties. One is called kala ufung; this is always dark yellow and has a finely cut ridge on the outside (Ill. 102). It is the appropriate accompaniment to the three-panel sarong. The other is kala belopor, which is lighter in colour and lacks the ridge (Ill. 102). It is the bracelet given with a two-panel bridewealth sarong. A now rare type of precious bracelet was cut from a shell.[1] This bracelet, called felo, was made in the neighbouring Atadẽi region and traded to Lamalera from there (Ill. 102). It has become very rare now, and it is not used in the marriage exchange. It was once appropriately given with the three-panel cloth.

[1] Of the Conidae family, probably subgenus Lithoconus. This conical shell is found all over the Indo-Pacific shore lines.

The ivory bracelets are always offered in sets of five, referred to as kulu lém̀a, "five seeds".[2] The set of five ridged ivory bracelets, kala ufung kulu lém̀a, in addition to the three-panel bridewealth cloth, is called a "high, superior unit of measurement", kesebõ̀ belolo. The two-panel cloth plus the five simple ivory bracelets, kala belopor kulu lém̀a, are the "low unit of measurement", kesebõ̀ lérém̀.

Throughout Lamaholot, the tusks are the appropriate prestations made by the man's side. As far as I know, the use of ivory tusks for this purpose is unique to the area. They were brought into the region centuries ago. Their origin is uncertain; I would suggest that they came from southern India or Ceylon, as the early Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa mentions ivory tusks being traded especially from these parts (Barbosa 1921, vol. II: 113).

Both tusks and the female gifts, the cloth and bracelets, should be provided by the families of the two people who intend to get married. For this reason, many households have their own collection of treasures, consisting

---

[2] See also p. 92, where the ikat skein to be tied is called kulu ném̀u, "six seeds". In the western Lamaholot dialect, to the eastern group of which Lamalera belongs, kulu either means "seed" or it is used as a numerative. In the eastern Lamaholot dialect, kulu (also ulu, kuluk) means "eye" (see Keraf 1978, Appendixes IV and VI).

of tusks, cloths, and bracelets. In times of financial need, however, either because of famine or because a large sum of money is needed to send one of the children away to school on Flores or Timor, or further west to Java, one or more of these treasures may be sold, usually to people outside the village. If this has happened it may be necessary for a household to look elsewhere for the necessary items at the time of marriage. They will then turn to others in their clan to help them provide the gifts. This sort of request may require some searching, and a lot of time, but eventually is almost certainly successful, if there is no objection to the marriage on personal grounds. Although the gift exchange means that goods of tremendous value to the villagers will change hands, no one loses in the long run, because these goods which now leave the clan will return at another time. The marriage prestations circulate throughout the village and a loss is only felt if young people marry outside the community.

The marriage preparations can start after the sigé, the public announcement at which the necessary exchange of gifts has first been expressed. If the man's family has been successful in finding a tusk, the next step towards the time when the woman and man can live together and start their own household is the roi bala, "viewing the tusk". This is a family occasion, at which the gifts from the man's side are accepted as sufficient (or not, as the case may be).

Usually no argument arises at this meeting, as differences should have been cleared up beforehand. The woman's family then sets a date for receiving gifts to the bride, which are offered by her clan's members and by other clans who regard themselves on an equal standing. This means that any clan which is regarded as wife-taker to the clan does not participate, but the wife-giver to the woman's clan should. The occasion is called pau kebarak, "feeding the maiden". Everyone who attends the gathering brings some cloth or thread; the cloth is usually store-bought fabric, enough for a blouse, the thread brought, however, has to be hand-spun, locally grown cotton. The immediate relatives, including the woman's mother's brother, may give her a sarong, but these cloths will be of the type suitable for daily wear, not a bridewealth cloth (Ill. 103). In other words, all gifts accumulated on this occasion are for her own use. Following these two stages in the wedding, each of which is accompanied with a small family feast, the proper exchange of gifts can take place. On this occasion, the woman enters her clan house, lango bélã̃, where all her personal gifts as well as the bridewealth cloths and ivory bracelets have been assembled. From there she will go to her husband's clan house, accompanied by women from the man's clan, who receive the cloths, sarongs, and hanks of thread, offer their guests first some betel, which they chew before entering the house, and then serve them a light meal of pork and palmwine. The bride is now

officially accepted into her new clan. Throughout the ceremony, only women are present.

Once the visitors have finished their refreshments, they return to their own clan house; the bride, however, stays behind. It is now time for the return visit from the man's clan: they arrive bearing the tusk (or tusks), cooked rice, meat ready to be eaten, and palm wine. While it was the women before who were bringing the gifts, now the bearers are all male. Whoever carries the tusk receives a further gift of cloth from the bride's clan. This is a man's sarong and shirt. The marriage is then properly initiated. The entire ceremony is called o ratã, "washing the hair". It was explained to me that this phrase meant that the "sisters of the bride's new clan take her into their midst".

Because tusks have become rare now in Lamalera, the exchange of the non-utilitarian goods, i.e. the tusk and the bridewealth cloth, are often delayed. This is often talked about as an obstacle to marrying. In reality, however, it would hardly keep two people apart. It is common to marry in church and have the traditional ceremonies, i.e. the sigé, the pau kebarak, and the o ratã, without the presentation of the major gift. But the need to exchange the tusk and the bridewealth cloth is not forgotten. It is remembered as an outstanding debt which will eventually have to be paid. If sudden illness and death occurs in a clan, this debt may be considered as one reason for the misfortune, and active steps will be taken to complete the exchange. The

mutual prestations which are thought necessary to a marriage are of two kinds. There is a utilitarian side to certain gifts, which can be consumed or immediately used. These are the cloths and fabrics given to the bride for her personal use and the food offered by the groom's clan. These gifts are always made immediately at the wedding. The non-utilitarian gifts, i.e. the tusk and the red ikat cloths, are not personal gifts to be used by the individual. Both, in fact, are of little practical significance.

The elephant tusk serves no purpose, except in so far as it enters into marriage prestations. Nevertheless, it is a traditional expression of wealth. Although it can be traded for staple foods, animals, or money, villagers do so only as an extreme measure in the case of pressing need. Despite, or perhaps because of, their value, they do not freely change hands. Only in connection with marriage are they expected to move from one household to another. It is significant that wealth of this sort is most appropriately expressed by objects which have no use, but which have gained meaning through the role they play in the community. Tusks normally come prominently into view only during the presentation of marriage prestations. Certain large pieces are clan treasures unsuited for marriage exchanges. Should they leave the clan, the clan might die out. One especially large tusk has the reputation of having given birth, namely to a smaller tusk. Both "parent" and "child" are safely preserved in the clan

house of Belikololong.

Women's gifts also are characterized by lack of utility. Both cloth and bracelets can of course be worn in another state, but not as they are presented here. Cloth acceptable as marriage gifts may not be cut at ratã̃. The two styles of ivory bracelets are frequently worn singly, but never in whole sets of five, as they are needed in these exchanges. One hears it said that without tusks, uncut women's sarongs, and bracelets, no marriages could take place and the community would die out. Non-utilitarian gifts therefore are conceived to be intimately attached to the life and prosperity of the community.

2. Cloth and Burial.

Reports from Sumba often dwell on the enormous numbers of ikat cloths buried with the dead (see, e.g., Adams 1969, for a survey). As Sumba cloth has been a main focus of attention, it has become a commonplace in general accounts of eastern Indonesian traditional textiles and their functions that they play an important part at burial (Gittinger 1979a; Kahlenberg 1977). I have found no evidence for this interpretation on Lembata. Cloth does play an important part in the funeral, but I have never heard of fine ikat cloth being used. Nevertheless, the dead have to be appropriately dressed before they are interred. In Lamalera they may be buried with a new set of clothing, a sarong and blouse for a woman, a man's sarong and, optionally, a shirt for a man. After much hesitation

some said that an adat cloth would possibly be used, but only for an exceptionally important person. However, in the circumstances observed the deceased was always dressed in clothing of the kind worn in this world, and it must be appropriate to his or her sex. An adat piece would not really be suited for a man, and women do not easily achieve outstanding social rank of a traditional sort.

Writing on the textiles of Lembata, Watters (1977: 95) makes the unlikely claim that bridewealth cloth becomes the property of the man after marriage and is buried with him. This practice may be followed in some areas of Lembata with which I am not familiar, but wherever I have asked about this possibility, islanders denied that it was customary. It is also not the common pattern for a person to attempt to take personal wealth with him. All that he or she requires is clothing of the type which those who preceded the deceased to the land of the dead would recognize as appropriate. In Kédang such clothing is of a kind now long obsolete. A man must be buried with a a thin, white waist cloth and a thin, blue loin cloth, as was once worn by the ancestors, and which specifically must be purchased for this purpose <u>not</u> with money, but with a gift of betel nut and sirih pepper (Barnes 1974a: 18, 180-181). To satisfy recent ideas of decency, the Kédang also cover the corpse with a sarong.

In all the funerals I observed in Lamalera, the

corpse received new clothes. In one instance, nine sets of clothing had to be found for most of a large family, including mother and eight children, who were victims of a tidal wave and landslide which struck the Lerek Peninsula while they were trading there. The bodies were not found. Since they were presumed lost at sea, they had to be recovered by a diver, who retrieved banana stems previously thrown on the waves. These surrogates were handed from the water by the diver to women waiting on the shore. Each stem was taken by a different woman, who quickly wrapped the imaginary corpse in cloth, while other women wailed and cried over her bundle. From then until the dressed stems were placed in their coffins (which were only large enough to accommodate the short stems, see Ill. 107), the women mourned them as they would over a real body. Before each coffin was closed, everyone present placed in it a small scrap of white cloth to sever the ties with the living and thus to prevent further death and misfortune.

In a parallel custom, the Kĕdang hold a large black cloth over the deceased and cut it into as many strips as there are surviving siblings. This torn cloth also emphasizes the separation between the dead and the living (Barnes 1974a: 182-183).

The sarong and shirt or blouse worn by the deceased is supplied by the close family within the clan. The deceased's opu-pukã̃, or trunk wife-giving affine, has to

bring another set of clothing which is placed into the coffin, along with some black and white thread.

3. Colour.

At this point it may be appropriate to consider the importance attached to the colours of various cloths. The basic colour system is obviously red, black, and white. The local colour code is much wider, though. There was never any question, when discussing precise hues and shades of dyes, that fine distinctions are made. For example, the brownish-red colour of the morinda-dyed thread is called nubar. The various shades of indigo are called pelã̃, "blue", and are further distinguished as pelã̃ belurã̃, "light blue", pelã̃ mitã̃, "dark blue", and kepaõ̃, which is a very dark blue, but not yet dark enough to be called mitã̃, "black". Green is kéor, the indigo-based dark green suitable for the bridewealth cloths is called kéor maté. Yellow is kuma, which refers to the yellow turmeric root. The dark yellow which is used on the traditional textiles is again called kuma maté. The deep purple, to our eyes almost a true black, which is the result of overdyeing indigo with morinda, is called fangẽ̃.

Yet despite the linguistic capacity to distinguish between slight variations in colour, the categorical colour classification of traditional cloth is the triad of white, burã̃, red, méã̃, and black, mitã̃. From east Flores to the

Lamaholot speaking area of Lembata, i.e. excluding Kédang, the predominant colour in all bridewealth cloth is red. Coastal Adonara and East Solor are the exception in so far as no traditional, locally made bridewealth cloth is known from there. This is also the region where the bride's parents formerly gave imported patola in exchange for tusks. Nowadays the cloths given there are woven locally, but made from store-bought thread dyed in bright aniline colours. In Kédang, however, the cloth has to be black. Schulte Nordholt mentions the same division into red or blue (black) cloths from Timor. He says: "The extraordinary fact remains that red and dark blue (black) as the main colours of cloths are spread in an extremely irregular pattern across Indonesian Timor. They are at the same time the colours which play an important, though rather vague part in the classificatory system" (1971: 45). The same can be observed in the Flores--Solor area. Gittinger (1979a: 169) has suggested that the red, dyed with morinda, which is comparatively more complex than the indigo dyeing, was a foreign influence which may have come into the area with the Indian trade. Red cloth, however, is also used in parts of Lamaholot which show little patola influence otherwise. Fox (1980: 43) has shown that on Roti the textile trade under early Dutch control was also connected with the development of indigo dyeing, i.e. had the reverse effect. There, the black indigo dye is used as a mark of high status.

For the Flores--Solor region, a historical explanation

of the use of red, i.e., its possible arrival only some centuries ago, could explain the differences in the colour of bridewealth cloth between Kédang (black) and Lamaholot (red). Kédang is more conservative in many respects and seems to preserve some features which have disappeared elsewhere. The exclusive use of indigo-dyed cloth is otherwise not known from other parts of the Flores area, with the exception of the Ngada region of central Flores. The people of Kédang know of red sarongs used as bridewealth, through their trade ties with Ili Api and other Lamaholot regions. To them, however, a red bridewealth cloth would not be acceptable under any circumstances. Red, in Kédang, is a colour of ambiguous meaning, which almost always is associated with moral wickedness (Barnes 1974a: 167). Black cotton cloth is instead more appropriate for bridewealth. This and the black cloth cut apart for the living at a funeral may suggest that this colour is associated with the physical aspects of the living community (see Barnes 1974a: 222). Other uses of black support this idea: once a person is mature enough to marry, his or her teeth are blackened. Pots, cups, and plates are only considered strong enough for use once they have been stained black with charcoal.

At this point, it is in my opinion not possible to say more than Schulte Nordholt states, i.e. that colours play an important but vague rôle. On Timor colour may be

associated with the cardinal points and with male or female (Schulte Nordholt 1971: 413). This cannot be reported for the Lamaholot. Although the woman's clan offers the red cloths, the colour itself is not in particular associated with the female. It is more likely that other, superlative associations with the word méã, or méan, make it the preferred cloth (see Barnes 1974a: 106). Among the Ngada of Flores, mean means "extraordinary" (Arndt 1933), in the language of the Belu on Timor it means "golden" (Vroklage 1953, vol. 1: 576), "red, strong, healthy; God himself may be called mean" (Vroklage, vol. 2: 7).

4. Odd and Even Numbers.

In describing the preparation of the ikat cloths, of which the bridewealth prestations are the most elaborate examples, we have come across several instances so far when an uneven number was insisted upon. The gift which counters the cloth prestations at marriage, the tusk, is also always measured in uneven units. No kesebõ of four, six, or eight exists.

For the preparation of textiles, the following details should be recalled. The number of ikat skeins which make up one pattern has to be uneven. The individual skein contains six threads, i.e., is even in number. The number six, however, is made up of a combination of two times three. or three times two. It combines the odd with the even.

The warp stripes or ikat bands which decorate the two-panel women's sarongs are always uneven. The three-panel cloth has two symmetrical panels at either end, which make the outer panels' ikat bands even. However, by adding the central panel, the uneven number is again established.

The concern with the contrast between odd and even is also found strongly expressed in the village's boats. These are divided into eleven sections, called uak. Some boats, however, being slightly shorter, do not have the correct number of compartments, but only ten. Such boats are tẽna uak nalã, "boats with a section lacking." Keraf (1983: 6) gives the following interpretation.

> Odd numbers express a form of life, a continuous dynamic. This situation represents an important factor in the attitude to life of the people of Lamalera. Even numbers indicate that everything has been finished, is complete. Thus there is no living dynamic, there is no life. Because of that, whenever a boat of the form uak nalã (i.e., section missing) does not possess an odd number of sections, it is nevertheless still thought to possess an odd number, through the description as a boat lacking a section. In other words,

> it is "a boat whose sections are not complete", i.e. odd in number. By this method, thus, no violation of the prevailing norm occurs".

Keraf derives from Lamalera, and his interpretation is based on detailed knowledge of the structure of the boats and of the terminology and attitudes associated with them.[3] I want to add a further example of the importance of an odd number in the fishery. The ropes which are attached to the harpoons are also fastened, by a loop, to a rope leader. At three points, this loop is tied with either cotton string or bast fibre. The rope visible between the three ties has to spiral an uneven number of times. If this requirement is neglected, no fish will be caught (Barnes 1980: 44).

The cloth which is so important as a prestation should also be seen in the context of odd and even numbers, and their juxtaposition. Odd is the incomplete, but also the continuing (Barnes 1982: 17). The tusk, which is measured in an uneven number of units, requires the return of the equivalent in the form of cloth and bracelets. For a tusk which measures seven kesebõ, seven units have to be returned. These are made up of two gifts: the textile and the bracelets. The complete exchange, thus, has

---

[3] For a related discussion of odd and even numbers, see Barnes 1982.

involved an uneven set of gifts, the tusk, the cloth, and the bracelets.

Probably related to the importance of the uneven to emphasize continuity may be the three-panel textile. I want to point out, though, that in Lamalera, in my opinion, the central panel has taken on a specific political message. It relates to the ownership of imported patola cloths and the resulting manipulation of a position of prestige, a theme which will be developed in Chapter XIII .

CHAPTER XI: WEAVING AND DESIGN IN LEREK AND ILI API

So far I have dealt almost exclusively with the weaving industry of Lamalera. Now I want to turn to a survey of the textile traditions throughout the language area of Lamaholot, which means including the islands of Solor and Adonara, as well as the eastern tip of Flores. Although linguistically quite distinct, with its own language, Kédang at the far eastern end of Lembata will also receive attention.

Although weaving is done throughout the archipelago, nowadays even in the regions which traditionally had a prohibition on weaving there are parts where it is much more common than it is in others. It is quite clear that most of the now highly productive weaving centres have been producing cloth for a long time. This conclusion can be drawn from what people say about their own weaving traditions and from the importance their own cloth plays in the exchange of marriage prestations.

I am best acquainted with the distribution of cloth production on Lembata, but have visited and talked to weavers on all the Lamaholot islands. On Lembata there are three areas where outstanding cloth is woven: (1) Lamalera, (2) the Lerek Peninsula (also referred to as Labala, after the main market and ancient trading town, or as Atadéi, after the tip of the peninsula), and

(3) the Ili Api district in the north. In addition, weaving is a very important industry in Kalikur, the Islamic village on the north coast of Kédang. On Solor cloth production is especially important in the south-eastern parts. On Adonara, there is hardly any traditional weaving of the sort found otherwise in Lamaholot, although weaving for a cash trade is an important aspect of the economy of the Islamic coastal settlements. In East Flores weaving is especially widespread in the villages around the Ili Mandiri.

Considering the small size of the total area described here, it may seem surprising that an account from various parts should be necessary at all. But as we proceed with this survey, accompanied by the illustrations, it should soon become clear that there are in fact significant differences to be encountered, as well as variations on similar themes.

1. Lerek.

The weaving and cloth production of Lamalera dominates the market of traditional cloth in the vicinity of the village. This influence spreads to Mingar in the West and to the mountain villages on the slopes of Labalekang, but also into the hills to the east of the volcano (see Map 3). It does not extend to the geographically close Lerek Peninsula, also called Atadéi. The women from Lamalera trade fish or salt in the area, but do not take their cloth

there. The Lerek Peninsula has an indigenous tradition of weaving which is as strong as that of Lamalera.

The bridewealth cloth is called petak harén ("good sarong"). The female sarong for wearing, whether daily or for feast days, is called petak alé (alé: "to tie around the waist") or krémo wua wélak. The last term I heard only once used by women from Mulankera, near Labala. It was translated as follows: krémo, "sarong"; wua, "pinang"; wélak, "mountain" or "pinang palm brush", i.e. the cluster of fruit stems from which the pinang nut grows. The informants were unsure as to which meaning wélak bears here. Wélak, according to Arndt (1937), means "to wrap up, to cover, to tie together". The uncertainty of the women in translating the word, and the possible meanings of "mountain" for wélak should be compared to Kédang wéla, which means both "woman's sarong" and "mountain" (Barnes 1974a: 18).[1]

---

[1] Another connection with wélak may be seen in Kédang wélaq, which refers to ten pairs of coconuts. Coconuts are always prepared in sets of two, called éq. Ten éq make up one wélaq (Barnes 1982: 19). For the association between mountain and fine cloth, see also Hitchcock 1983: 174. He mentions that on Sumbawa the top of a mountain was considered to be sealed off from trespassers by a cloth woven of gold thread.

The petak harén has to be red, i.e. the wide single coloured bands are dyed with morinda. For the petak alé however, the major bands would be black, dyed with indigo. The petak alé is comparable in its purpose to Lamalera's kewatek menikil. But while the latter is usually made of store-bought thread nowadays, and is dyed with commercial dyes, the women of Atadéi still take pride in wearing cloths which are woven from local cotton and dyed with natural dyes.

The bridewealth cloth is densely decorated with ikat (here called mowa), which, as in Lamalera, is dyed in two colours, first black (indigo), then red (morinda). The ikat of a Lerek bridewealth cloth must show the three tones of white, black, and red. In Lamalera cloth there are always two shades of indigo-black, as the dark blue resulting from the indigo dye baths is partly re-tied before the kelore dye baths. This has the effect that those indigo shades which take on the red morinda dye appear truly black in the finished ikat, while there are also areas which are dark blue, from indigo alone. In the cloth of Atadéi, one does not find this differentiation, as all indigo is blackened with further morinda dyeing.

The petak harén of Atadéi only shows three colours, therefore, rather than the four of Lamalera. In appearance its ikat designs are starker, bolder, and larger in their shapes than the more delicately intricate patterns of Lamalera sarongs. The standard of execution is very high,

the ikat being of excellent quality, with clearly defined shapes.

The cloth is used for bridewealth as a gift from the woman's side, as is done in Lamalera. Each cloth is accompanied by a set of five bracelets, here preferably of shell (felo) rather than ivory, or a necklace of beads, called nila (Ill. 112). The cloth given may also not be cut at the ratan, as is so important for the bridewealth cloth of Lamalera. But in Lerek there are no two-section bridewealth cloths: the kewatek nai ruã has no equivalent All adat cloth has to have at least three sections (petak harén nai telo), and it may have five (nai lémang) or, as some informants assured me, even seven (nai pito). These cloths would be even longer than the three-panel cloth, but just as narrow. They seem to be rather less frequent than the nai telo, as I was not able to see one, either on Lembata, or in the European collections. The number of sections has to be uneven, i.e. four or six panel cloth is not possible. With Keraf's explanation of the use of odd and even in Lamalera, and the Kédang emphasis on odd numbers as meaning life, as well (Barnes 1974a: 178), I suggest that a similar interpretation should be put forward on the exclusive use of three, five, or seven panels for

the Lerek bridewealth cloth.[2]

Because I have not seen the five or seven section petak harén, I cannot say with certainty just how the central, continuous part is arranged in these cloths. Like the three-panel Lamalera cloths, the Lerek bridewealth sarongs also inevitably have a central part with a continuous pattern, usually of unmistakable patola origin. But while in Lamalera the central section is identical with the continuous pattern, in Atadéi cloth the continuous part often occupies only a part of the central section.

While the patterns certainly are influenced by the Indian patola, they are of a particular type only. They should be compared with motif type 8 i. and 27 in Bühler's survey of motif types (Bühler 1979: 60, 112). Most common is the rhombic shape, named petola, or, in some villages, ketipa. The same pattern occurs also in Lamalera, where it is called petolã. Ketipa is an altogether different pattern there. One also finds stars, and the swastika, as favourite designs for the central section. The swastika (called

[2] Watters told Gittinger that, "On Lomblen, certain sarongs had as many as sixteen panels, sewn together to form a tube" (Gittinger 1979a: 173). This information seems highly improbable; in general, Watters has published mostly inaccuracies on the weaving of Lembata (see Watters 1977). For an initial survey of the Lamaholot textile production, Maxwell (1981) is a much more reliable source, although she, too, is too ready to generalize from her experience in a particular location.

menué, "swift"), a motif which of course has prominent counterparts in India, was apparently not introduced through patola cloths. It does not appear on any of the Indian cloths I have seen from the area, nor is it part of any of the patola-motif types which are reproduced in Bühler (1979).

Never have I seen the patterns taru matã̃ (its two forms), belére, or ketipa belurã̃ on Atadéi cloth, which are all based on the floral type of patola silks, and are much favoured in Lamalera. Their use in indigenous ikat remains unique to this particular village. The names for these patterns were not recognized by weavers from Atadéi.

Nevertheless, of all the types of ikat sarongs found in the Lamaholot area, those of Atadéi are the closest to Lamalera. The two traditions share several patterns:

Lamalera	Lerek (Atadéi)
petolã̃	petola or ketipa (patolu, patola)
kebeku	kebeku (sun fish)
jõ̃	téna (boat, i.e. junk)
menué	menué (swift)
tona	sirété (star)
ka'u belapit	kau népat (coconut leaves folded as for roofing)

In addition to the use of these patterns which are shared,

there are a few cases where the same name for a figure brings different results. The pattern ata dikã̃ (L.)/ata dikan (A.)) is an excellent example (Ill. 96, 97). The Lamalera figure is in my opinion a copy of a patolu flower design reinterpreted (see. p. 172), while the Atadẽi design of the same name is part of an ancient Asian tradition in figural representation, that of the "linked ancestor figures". It shows highly stylised human figures who are linked to each other at their hands and feet. While Lamalera's ata dikã̃ can also be seen as a version of the "linked ancestor figure", it has a different source and represents a different stylistic approach.

The pattern tẽna (boat) in Lamalera always shows the village's large boats with their long harpooners' platforms which are used to hunt the manta rays and whales. The tẽna of Atadẽi, however, shows the type of boat called jõ̃ in Lamalera, which there specifically refers to the junks of the Chinese. When asked about it, my Atadẽi informant said that the pattern shows a boat (tẽna) of the junk type (jon). But as they themselves were no great fishermen and had no boats, a tẽna was represented as the merchants' sailing vessel, as that to them was the most prominent type of ship.

Comparing petolã̃/ketipa-petola, kebeku, and moku, we can observe slight differences in tying the same pattern. These are consistent. For example, the moku of Atadẽi cloth

has a straight tail, if it is not omitted altogether. In the Lamalera pattern moku, the tail always spreads diagonally across the ikat band, until it is on one level with the tip of the moku's wing (Ill. 70). The triangle thus created by the tail, the wing, and the edge of the ikat are then dyed in a colour different from the immediate environment of the moku.

A pattern which is apparently absent from Lamalera cloth, but is found in Atadêi, is jarang ("horse") (Ill. 111). I have seen it only once, in conjunction with têna, and in this case the ikat was not part of a bridewealth cloth, but of a festive sarong. I can only report that the wearer, who had herself done the ikat and woven the sarong, assured me that it was a pattern suitable for adat cloth. The figure of the horse should be compared with horses on central Flores cloth, which also are depicted in a stick-figure manner. They are very much in contrast to the voluminous forms of horses on Sumba ikat cloth.

Finally, a few comments should be made about the local weaving of men's cloth, nowi. The sarong made for a man in Atadêi is quite different from the nofi of Lamalera. We have noted above that the traditional man's cloth of Lamalera is patterned in a tartan-like manner, with differently coloured threads set up in warp and weft. In Lerek, the traditional male sarong is woven in dark (brown or blue--black) colours, with single or paired

threads of a lighter colour set into the warp, to create thin horizontal stripes once the cloth has been sewn together. The fact that this area, which is geographically very close and has a weaving tradition otherwise very much like Lamalera, does not produce the same type of man's cloth at all shows how localised the plaid design of Lamalera is.

2. Ili Api.

The region of Ili Api occupies a large peninsula on the northern coast of Lembata, which is totally dominated by an active volcano. The mountain's constantly smoking cone has given the area its name, ili api, literally "fire mountain", which translates as "volcano". Villages encircle the base of the mountain, and a dirt road, first built under Dutch rule and more or less kept up since then, leads around it.

The ikat tradition here is famous, and much admired elsewhere on the island. However, one encounters a lot of pessimism at present about the survival of the art. My own experience bears this out to a certain degree, as it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to get information about the cloth in general, and about specific patterns in particular.

Ili Api has been an exporter of cloth for a long time. Not only has it traditionally supplied Kédang, in the east of Lembata, with bridewealth cloth, but the hills inland, near Hadakewa and across the island towards

Lerek, have been totally influenced by the patterns of Ili Api, just as Lamalera has left its impact on the sarongs of the western interior mountains. In fact, Lamalera and Ili Api have served very similar requirements in different parts of the island. Before the arrival of inexpensive machine-woven cloth, both were the major providers of cloth for an entire region which had a prohibition on weaving (Mingar and Kĕdang, respectively), and both had a dominant influence on textile production even in areas where weaving was permitted. While Lamalera exports its own bridewealth cloth to Mingar, however, the Ili Api weavers have to provide a special order of black bridewealth cloth for Kĕdang. The cloth has a main body which is entirely dyed with indigo, to a deep blue--black, and only the borders are decorated with some, usually modest, ikat designs. A large part of the demand for these black cloths is still satisfied by weavers from Ili Api, Kalikur providing the rest.

Once I was told by a weaver from Ili Api that her husband, who was on rantau ("gone abroad" to work as a labourer) in Irian Jaya, could sell her cloth there for more than twice the price in cash she got at home. Elmberg (1968) discusses at some length the import of cloth from eastern Indonesia into Irian Jaya. He does not seem to be aware of cloth coming from the Lamaholot or Flores region.

The women's bridewealth sarongs of Ili Api are

strikingly different from those of either Lamalera or Lerek. They have two panels, and they are completely covered with bands of ikat decoration (Ill. 113). These are divided from each other by sections of plain red. The patterns emphasise the horizontal (as worn), i.e. the warp directions. These two-panel cloths have no continuous central part, and although there often is an ikat strip at either end which is slightly wider than the rest, even this does not usually exceed the width of fifteen ikat skeins. The wide ikat bands of Lamalera and Lerek cloth, however, usually have about twice the number of skeins in their wide ikat patterns. The designs of Ili Api have less variety than those of southern Lembata, being restricted almost entirely to rhombic shapes and triangles, which however are put together to form quite intricate patterns. The bridewealth cloth should be red, for which here the bark of the tenor tree is used, rather than morinda. While in Lamalera and Lerek all the ikat of an adat cloth has to show the colour triad white, black, red, i.e. be tied twice and overdyed, in Ili Api the three-coloured ikat strips are supplemented by two-coloured ones. This is ikat which has been tied only once and then dyed red, so that the result is red--white. There is also much less use of the thin stripes of yellow, green, or blue (all achieved with vegetable dyes), which are essential to the southern Lembata cloth.

Although it is said that the bridewealth cloth has to be red, I have seen two examples of cloth which had a black stripe at the single-coloured end pieces (one of them

is in the Basel collection, IIc 14731). I was told that this type of cloth could also be used in the marriage exchange, just as the red cloth, but I did not think my informant was entirely reliable.[3] I suspect that at least traditionally red was the required colour, and that these examples of "black" cloth were festive sarongs, intended to be worn, like the kewatek menikil of Lamalera. Ili Api does not seem to know the prohibition to cut the ratan of a sarong if it is to be used as bridewealth, which is so explicitly mentioned in southern Lembata, and which one encounters again in east Flores.

I was told that three-section sarongs were also used in the Ili Api region, but my informants could not describe them. I have seen one cloth in the Basel collection which could well be an example of the three-section cloth from Ili Api (IIc 14732). The central section in this piece stands strangely in contrast to the two outside parts. Its pattern, which is much like the pattern petolã/ketipa of Lamalera and Lerek, is not repeated in the outer panels, as would be the case in a three-panel cloth from south Lembata. Furthermore, it definitely was not made at the same time as the ikat of the outer panels, as its dye has a different intensity: it is lighter in colour. It is dyed only red on white, rather

---

[3] She was trying to sell the cloth to me, and by insisting that it was a bridewealth sarong, she could, of course, ask for the maximum price.

than the obligatory triple colour of Lamalera and Atadēi. Should this piece really come from Ili Api, of which due to the patterns of the outer panels I am almost certain, it shows that at least in this one case it was considered appropriate to make a three-section sarong in which the central section is not really linked to the two outer sections, either stylistically or technically. It is possible that this cloth, which I consider to be a kind of hybrid between Ili Api and Southern Lembata, was made in Ili Api to fulfill bridewealth requirements from somewhere else. I once saw a cloth in Lamalera which was made especially for a marriage between a woman from Lamalera with a man from Ili Api, and which tries to evoke Ili Api patterns (not very successfully).

Horizontal lines, not continuous vertical patterns, are the hallmark of Ili Api cloth. The cloth of southern Lembata also emphasises the horizontal in the two outer panels, but the third, inner panel overcomes this, by matching up several layers of the same pattern, without a visual interruption. This continuous pattern is usually repeated in the border, so that both the horizontal and vertical are linked.

Very little was discovered about the names of patterns in Ili Api. Had I spent a long time in the area, it is very likely that eventually I would have had better information. But it is a fact in much of Lamaholot, at least at the present, that the names of specific patterns are often not generally known, even to the weavers themselves. They simply call them kenirak lēmēng, -pito, etc. ("pattern of five, seven" etc.),

a reference of course to the number of ikat skeins per pattern. The same I found on Solor and in the Ili Mandiri district of east Flores. There is much less variety to the patterns than there is in southern Lembata. The idea that certain patterns should be associated with certain clans in a village community was not recognised. Again, the same will be found on Solor and in the weaving of Ili Mandiri.

This is not to say that the cloth is not of very high quality. The technical precision of the ikat, the subtlety of colours, is of equal rank. There can be no doubt, however, that the choice of patterns available to the weaver is much more limited. To us, this does not make the cloths less interesting in appearance. Some of the best, and visually most startling, pieces of cloth I have ever seen in the Lamaholot area came from Ili Api. Stylistically, it is a different approach to the possibilities of ikat design, and one, as I will argue later, entirely indigenous to the area. There is very little trace of patola influences. One single geometric pattern, the rhombic shape close to the petolã of Lamalera, may certainly have its source in the Indian double ikat cloths, but there is no attempt otherwise to evoke the appearance of the high-status imported cloths, as is so evidently the case in southern Lembata.

CHAPTER XII: SOLOR, ADONARA, AND EAST FLORES

1. Solor.

Solor is the smallest of the three Lamaholot-speaking islands, and it also measures considerably less in surface than east Flores. Yet historically it was once of more importance than any of the other areas. On the northeast coast, just inside the Solor Strait, both the Portuguese and Dutch had at various times established fortifications to allow their boats to harbour during the wildest storms of the west monsoon (approximately early January to mid-February). Here they restocked their supplies before they continued on their journey from Timor to the Moluccas. Timor was the first source for sandalwood in the archipelago, and the Moluccas, of course, provided much-sought-after spices, in particular cloves and mace. Solor also may have been a supplier of sandalwood; the trees are supposed still to grow there. The island is very unexciting in appearance; of the four areas (East Flores, Solor, Adonara, and Lembata), it is the one which is least impressive. There are no high volcanoes sweeping out of the sea, only a few green forests, and no wild shoreline created by lava tumbling into the waves, as one finds on the other islands. The northeast of Solor faces Adonara across the strait. The strait itself is generally calm, and it provides good protection from the

rough seas of the west monsoon.

As will be discussed at length in Chapter XIV, it is from this area that we have the first reliable written documents, found in Portuguese and Dutch sources, pertaining to the trade of cloth. Yet the places in early contact with traders from the West provide a very poor source of information concerning indigenous cloth and its patterns in relation to imported cloth. The northeast of Solor is entirely Islamic and has very close ties with the coastal trading communities of Adonara. The weaving found today is identical with the cloths made by the tradeswomen of southern Adonara. We have to turn to the southwest of Solor to encounter a type of weaving related to the traditional cloth production of Lembata.

The ethnographer Vatter visited the area in 1929 and reported that the weaving of southwest Solor, as well as much of its culture in general, is closely related to Lobe Tobi, the area of Flores directly across the straits. The patterns of Lobe Tobi cloth, on the other hand, are connected to those found on Sika weaving (Ill. 29). Vatter's statement for Solor cannot be confirmed as far as patterns are concerned. These are definitely in the tradition of Lamaholot cloth. However, there is a technical aspect of weaving found here which clearly connects the cloth of Solor with Lobe Tobi and Sika. The Lamaholot sarong is usually woven in separate panels. In Sika,

however, the sarong is woven as one very long cloth (Ill. 117). To make it up, this long fabric is then cut in half. From the two panels the sarong is sewn together. In many areas in Lamaholot this would be prohibited, at least for bridewealth sarongs, which must preserve the integrity of the continuous warp. In southwest Solor, however, as in Lobe Tobi, this technique has been adopted. All women's sarongs are woven with a double-length warp which is then divided in half.

The women's sarongs are always decorated with very narrow bands of ikat, usually no more than one skein wide for an ordinary sarong, and rarely wider than five. They are very different in appearance from the cloths of Lembata. The wide ikat bands which there characterise the sarongs, and which are found on any of the standing of a kewatek menikil or more, are very rare indeed in Solor weaving. Instead, the whole cloth is covered with very narrow bands of ikat. Only the bridewealth sarong has a wider band of ikat decoration at either end.

All cloths have two panels only; the three-panelled cloths of southern Lembata are unknown here. The sarongs made of hand-spun, locally grown cotton are called kewatek penulun or kewatek kapo amon. They are still very popular on Solor and are at least as common as cloths woven from store-bought thread.

The types of female sarongs are as follows. The

sarong for daily wear is called tanang. It is predominantly blue (indigo-dyed) with thin red stripes and very small ikat bands (one skein), if any. There are two types of festive sarongs, the kewatek makasar and kewatek temodol. No explanation was given for the significance of makasar in this context. The name also occurs in east Flores. In both cases, the kewatek makasar is a sarong with some red stripes and with very small ikat decoration. The kewatek temodol (no translation for temodol was given) comes in two types, the kewatek temodol biasa (biasa is Indonesian and should here be translated as "common, ordinary") and kewatek temodol belapit. It is characteristic of kewatek temodol to have at least one wide band of ikat at either end, near the border. In a kewatek temodol biasa the ikat will be dyed only with indigo. The kewatek temodol belapit, however, is dyed with two colours, i.e. with red in addition to the indigo blue. As in Lerek, the red dye is superimposed on the indigo dye, so that the true appearance is red and black. The blue of only indigo-dyed areas is lacking.

For bridewealth, the kewatek temodol belapit is used. This is traditionally exchanged for ivory tusks, as elsewhere in the Lamaholot region. However, tusks have become scarce, as they have been sold off for cash, usually to Adonara merchants. The actual exchange is therefore frequently postponed. Formerly, the appropriate gift from the woman's side would have been the kewatek méan, "red sarong" (Ill. 120). But this kind of cloth has not been made in

Solor for decades, I was told. Most of the old examples of the kewatek mẽan seem to have disappeared now. They may formerly have been used in burials in this part of Solor. Vatter collected three of these cloths during his stay in Lewolein, and I was able to see two examples near Ritaẽbang, in the house of the former kakang, the local ruler of the region (Ill. 121). Finding them was only helpful for the photographic record, and to complement Vatter's own description. It was impossible to get more than the vague information recorded here. The names of the patterns were not known in particular, except that the very wide band of continuous ikat patterns at the outer ends of the panels were called tenẽpa and indicated the aristocratic rank of the owner. Tenẽpa was translated into Indonesian as membintang, which means something like "putting on stars".[1]

These cloths are (or rather, were) the equivalent on Solor to the bridewealth sarongs of Lembata, in the amount of skill that had to go into their production, and the complexity of the ikat patterns used. They are always made up from two panels, but visually they are divided into

---

[1] See Arndt (1937), where tenẽpa means "spread, large mat" and is compared to tẽpa (Ili Mandiri), "to spread". In the Lamalera whaling vessels, the tenẽpa are the fore and aft extensions of the strakes in the middle part of the hull.

three parts, much like the three-panel sarongs of southern Lembata. In the Solor sarong, however, the wide field of continuously repeated ikat patterns has moved to either end of the sarong, and is now found in the border. The wide ikat field characteristically displays patterns which are undoubtedly of patola origin (Ill. 24 of Frankfurt NS 27895, cf. Bühler, motif type 1 and 2; also Ill. 26, Frankfurt NS 27904, cf. motif type 25).

Initially it had struck me as odd to see these Solor cloths, with their unusually wide patola-type patterns moved to the border, while the centre is dominated by narrow bands, none of which is wider than four ikat skeins. It is common for cloths which are influenced by patola to also keep the double-ikat silks' overall organization of design, with a wide central field. Even the patola-influenced cloths of southern Lembata preserve, one might argue, the central position of a wide field with usually small, but continuously repeated patterns, although they no longer have the format and general design organization of a patolu. The Solor kewatek mẽan, however, departs altogether from the centralised image and has moved the wide ikat designs to the border. For this there are, in my opinion, two possible explanations. In all Lamaholot women's sarongs, even the plainest, the border is always emphasised. This may be done with not much more than stripes of a contrasting colour, or with simple supplementary warp. The festive

sarong of Lamalera is defined by a wide ikat strip near the border. The same is true for the pétak alé of Lerek. Ili Api adat cloth, which is patterned throughout with ikat bands, nevertheless places particular emphasis on the border, by widening the ikat part there. The kewatek temodol of south Solor also is characterised by a wide ikat band at the borders. There are named patterns specifically suitable for the border, according to my informants. These border patterns have developed independently from the patola imports and their effect on local patterns. The ikat pattern used at the border may, however, also be a single width of the patola-type patterns suitable for the central panel in southern Lembata. In other words, there are patterns which are not suitable for the centre, and these are not of the patola type. All patterns found in the centre, however, which are all of patola-type, may also be used for the decoration of the border.

Another reason for placing a very wide decoration on the border of the cloth and covering the centre with small stripes of ikat only is possibly the way sarongs used to be worn in this part of Solor (see p. 111). It is quite clear from descriptions given that the central part of the sarong tube was barely visible. The version sugi, suitable for a married woman, would have looked much like the young woman photographed by Vatter (Ill. 122). Although she is from Lobe Tobi, not from Solor, she is certainly wearing

the sarong as described for sugi. The cloth is gathered around the middle by an invisible belt, and the top is allowed to fall over the waist. The point to be made is that the central part of the sarong is visually not significant when the cloth is worn. The border is the part most visible, and the patola-type patterns on Solor cloths have been placed in a position where they readily catch the eye.

Enquiries about the names for particular patterns of ikat did not bring much information. The usual answer, as in Ili Api, referred to the number of ikat skeins per pattern. Vatter (1932: 223, also pl. 50) has a bit more information about the patterns of at least one of the bridewealth cloths he collected.[2] The patola-type pattern in the border is called kowu makajan (Vatter's spelling), which means "crocodile's tracks". The adjoining pattern, of nine skeins, is one half of the same pattern, now called kehawe, "harpoon". The next following ikat strip, of four skeins, is made up of a composite of patterns with the following names (see Fig. 41):

a) belekan, a large gourd

b) kelegon, "knee"

---

[2] Although he, too, says it is unusual to be given names for patterns, other than those referring to the number of ikat skeins.

c) ua matan, "node of the rattan plant"

Similar patterns, though differently named, are also found in Lamalera, but it is characteristic of all designs there that they are kept individually. A merging of patterns does not take place. However, composite patterns do occur in the cloth designs of Atadei.

2. Lewokukung/Tanalein.

In southern Solor there is a region which has an altogether different cloth tradition from its surrounding neighbours. This area is centred around the village Tanalein and includes several hamlets and communities nearby. I visited the village Lewokukung, which has the same traditions as Tanalein. The area is well known for its relatively (within the south Solor context) strong adherence to traditional ways, which means that although everyone is Catholic and has been for at least three generations, the adat, i.e. traditional laws and ways of the ancestors, is talked about as a dominant factor in village life and has even had a revival in the last few years. In Tanalein itself, a korke, village temple dedicated to the spirits of the ancestors and to the highest divinity,[3] was recently

[3] Nowadays the Christian Trinity, formerly it would have been Lera-Wulan, literally "Sun-Moon".

erected, and there is a new emphasis on the merging of the beliefs of the ancestors with more recent religious and social outlooks.

The area is famous for its ornate basketry; the cloth made here is far more humble, though, than that of the surrounding communities. First of all, the traditional cloth is predominantly black. There are two versions, kewatek kemetã̃ ("black sarong"), and kewatek mowa ("sarong with ikat"). Both cloths have their borders decorated with red, i.e. morinda-dyed threads, as well as with some rather modest ikat. The main surface area, though, from the borders inwards, is only adorned with very narrow bands of colour. The overall impression is dark and very muted (see Ill. 123). The basic colour always is deeply dyed indigo. The "black sarong" has ikat which is only dyed with indigo. The finer version, the kewatek mowa, has ikat which is dyed with indigo and morinda, i.e. overdyed (belapit). These cloths, which are rather modest and not of very high value on the local market (ca. 5000 Rupiah, or just under £5.00 in 1982), are nevertheless the standard adat cloth, given in exchanges at weddings and funerals. There is a certain similarity between the Tanalein cloth and that of Kẽdang. The cloth used is almost identical, and the modesty of both types, and their value, are of the same kind. But in Kẽdang, of course, weaving is (or was) prohibited, and these cloths are mainly manufactured elsewhere. In Tanalein,

however, the cloth is produced by those who require it.

Another difference between Tanalein and south Solor in general is the way the cloths are woven. Here, each panel is woven separately, as we know of from Lembata, while elsewhere in southern Solor the sarong is always woven in one long panel, which is then cut apart, as it is in Lobe Tobi and central Flores. Vatter also encountered the same technique of the double-length warp on Alor, in the weavers' village Halerman (Vatter 1932: 244, also pl. 61,1). He thought that technique and design of weaving there were closely related to Timor.

3. Adonara.

As far as I have been able to discover, the red sarongs which make Lamaholot ikat weaving so outstanding are missing on Adonara.[4] Yet weaving is a very important industry, in

---

[4] I was once told by a male school teacher, though, that morinda dyeing was done in his home village in eastern Adonara. He said that there was a fenced-off area outside the village where the women would go to prepare the dyes. However, this was done only every five years and was then connected with an elaborate ceremony. This would suggest that no annual morinda dyeing is done, which is necessary to get the required depth of colour. The entire information was confused and probably not entirely reliable, as the young man had spent most of his adult life away from his village. Elsewhere, the dyeing place is sometimes removed to the outskirts of the village (Maxwell 1981: 52, fig. 13). The reason may be secrecy or it may be the pungent smell of the fermenting indigo.

particular to the coastal communities in southern Adonara. The women weavers in these villages have traditionally supplied the mountain people of Adonara, and areas elsewhere, where weaving may have been prohibited. Although the Adonara cloth is not very informative as far as the history of patterns is concerned, and is not striking to look at, weaving is traditionally an important part of Adonara trade.

The women's sarongs of Adonara always have only two panels, decorated throughout with stripes. Usually the border is emphasised with wider or more numerous stripes. Supplementary warp, called metot, is sometimes added, usually making a star pattern. This technique is also traditionally done in the Ili Mandiri region of Flores to decorate men's belts (Ill. 129, also Maxwell 1981: 46, fig. 1,2). The men's belt, called met, is used only locally on east Flores, and its traditional design is not directly related to the coastal Adonara supplement warp. The Adonara designs have spread to many other communities of Lamaholot, especially to areas where little or no traditional weaving is done. I have often seen Kédang girls or women using the supplementary warp in their weaving. It is also occasionally used in Lamalera, if a festive sarong is woven entirely of non-indigenous thread, but in the market cloth tradition.

Vatter claims that ikat (mowa) is unknown on Adonara. This is not correct: quite to the contrary, ikat warp bundles, already dyed and ready to be woven, are typical trade goods

brought to market by Adonara women. The women from the coastal villages, which traditionally specialise in trading, take a very active rôle in the economy. They weave, spin, and dye thread. They also prepare ikat, usually dyed with store dyes. These they offer for sale to women who want to weave the sarongs themselves, but do not know how to make ikat, or do not want to bother with the intricate work. The ikat prepared by the Adonara women, however, is very simple and restricted to few patterns. Star, tona, and boleng (referring to Ili Boleng, the volcano of East Adonara) are the two most elaborate. Like the weaving, the ikat is done for quick effect and with maximum efficiency, to bring a good return in cash for the labour expended.

Dyes used in weaving are predominantly store-bought. Certainly if the thread used is machine-spun, the colours will inevitably be aniline dyes. If hand-spun cotton is used, local natural dyes may be used as well. For red, the dye will come from the tenor tree, the product of which acts faster than morinda. Almost all dyers will rather use store-bought dyes for the red dye process, anyway. Indigo, to achieve black, is still much in use, however. Illustration 125 shows a festive sarong in which all but the black is dyed with aniline dyes, and even gold-metal thread is used. The black, however, is dyed with indigo.

The Adonara tradeswomen spend a lot of their time travelling; they have to be very mobile to keep up with

the weekly markets in the area. They move from island to island, and in addition to visiting the markets they also go into the villages.[5] They carry with them their own woven sarongs, often also local cotton already spun or even dyed, and goods which are factory-produced: blouses, shirts, sarongs, and thread. On the longer excursions they trade for cash; closer to home or when transport is available from a market town they may also seek produce in exchange.

Adonara, along with the northeast coast of Solor, seems to have been the principal recipient of imported cloth. An early source mentions Indian merchants being established there in the sixteenth-century (Jacobs 1974, vol. 1: 299-329). Beckering (1911: 178) refers to the importance of patola cloths, which are individually owned and used as bridewealth. The patola silks collected by Vatter from the Lamaholot area all come from Adonara or from northeast Solor. From Beckering's description it is clear that patola silks had once the same function as the red ikat cloths of Lembata and east Flores still have today, i.e. they were used as bridewealth. The patola, which were always

---

[5] The Kédang version of the tree of wealth myth mentions Lamahala (Adonara) traders who bring their cloths to market, but are outdone by the beautiful sarongs which the tree of wealth provides (Barnes 1974a: 108).

expensive prestige items, were supplemented with other cloth imported into the area, of western Indonesian or Indian origin. These are usually cheap printed cloths, which often imitate the patterns of patola. In conversation with people from Adonara, they are often confused with the genuine patola and called by the same name, ketipa. In places where the patola have become clan treasures, though, they are always distinguished by name from the printed import cloths; cf. Lamalera, where patola are ketipa, the printed cloths nofi belaja ("fine man's sarong"). There is no evidence from Lamalera that either the nofi belaja or the patola were ever used as bridewealth, as certainly was the custom on Adonara.

All import of prestige cloth of the Indian type into the Lamaholot region has stopped, at least since the nineteenth-century. Among the local population, the origin of patola is usually rather mythical. It is generally said that their origin is not known, and that the cloths have been passed down by the ancestors. In Lamalera it was once suggested to me that the Portuguese had brought them to the islands. The cotton imitation patola or Indian print cloths, however, are often still recognised as having been bought from traders, either from Adonara merchants or directly from Buginese traders.

Adonara's coastal settlements, then, have clearly been involved in the trade of cloth for centuries.

Prestigious import cloths have played a prominent part in their culture, as family treasures and bridewealth. Yet there is no evidence that these cloths had any influence on the local production. The present-day local weaving is now oriented towards export into other parts of Lamaholot and to Kédang. This market may go back a long time, although the earliest evidence I have found is a cloth collected in Kédang in 1909, now in the Leiden collection, which evidently came originally from Adonara (Leiden 1722.35).[6] The interior of the island has received much of its clothing from the coastal settlements, and there is no evidence of significant weaving traditions in the inner parts of Adonara.

Although of little importance to our study as far as production is concerned, Adonara is yet very important

---

[6] Since the Kédang do not produce their own cloth, their classifications, for the purpose of bridewealth or costume, apply to Adonara or to Ili Api cloth. It is as follows: (1) wéla munaq éhaq ("one unit cloth"), a bridewealth sarong with one seam, i.e. two panels; (2) wela munaq sué ("two unit cloth"), a bridewealth sarong with two seams, i.e. three panels; (3) wéla namang-nédung, a sarong suitable for feasts where dancing, namang-nédung, occurs. The Kédang munaq is the unit by which marriage prestations are measured and is analogous to, but rather different from, the kesebõ. For an explanation see Barnes (1982). The Ili Api red cloth is called wéla wato-ohi. Wato-ohi is Lamaholot, and the Kédang could not translate it.

as a centre of cloth distribution. Further mention of it will be made in the detailed historical review in Chapter XIV .

4. East Flores.

In East Flores, the villages around the Ili Mandiri volcano are particularly well-known for their traditional weaving. Lobe Tobi used to produce very fine cloths (cf. the Vatter collection), but apparently no longer does so; in any case, its traditional weaving is close to central Flores and concerns us less in this consideration of Lamaholot cloth production and patterns. In the Ili Mandiri region we find again the prestigious and highly valued red cloths which are so important on Lembata, and which have virtually disappeared from Solor. As on Solor, they are called kewatek méan ("red woman's sarong"). Other, less expensive, types of cloth are the kewatek makasar (the name also occurs on Solor) and the kewatek kenuma.

The red sarong is the most precious adat cloth used by women. The cloth may be worn at ritual dances or big feasts, when the ratan (open warp) is cut and sewn together. If the sarong is to be used for bridewealth, the warp has to be left uncut, as we have encountered it in Lamalera and Atadéi.

The design of these cloths is considerably simpler than that of Lembata cloth, or of the kewatek méan of Solor. This is not to say that they are aesthetically

less appealing. Their quality lies in precisely positioned, bead-like ikat patterns: narrow ikat bands cover the entire surface of the cloth, and only the border is distinguished with a wide pattern. Patterns are generally known only by their number of ikat skeins, i.e. their width:

one ikat tie: kenuma
two ikat ties: kenuma ruang
three ikat ties: kenuma telon
etc.

The large pattern at the back is called kenirak bélén, which means "large pattern" (bélé: "large, big", also "noble, respected"). An even number of ikat skeins is acceptable for the large as well as for the numerous small patterns.

The kewatek méan is completely red, without any indigo showing. The border pattern and some of the narrow ikat, however, are first dyed with indigo, and then with morinda. The indigo dyeing is repeated only once, though, so that rather than achieving a truly black area, as happens on Lembata and Solor, the pattern has white, light red, and dark red parts. As even the weft used in weaving the cloth has to be dyed with morinda, the sarong is truly méan, "red". In this respect the bridewealth cloth of east Flores is unusual among Lamaholot textiles. The

narrow stripes of yellow, green, or light blue used elsewhere are completely absent in the Ili Mandiri sarongs.

The continuous pattern found in the centre in southern Lembata is absent in this type of sarong, and the large border pattern never reaches the width or intricacy of the wide pattern found on Solor's red sarong. It may, however, repeat several times one pattern (Ill. 127). There seems to be little choice of patterns. I have seen the narrow pattern ⌊⌐⌊ , called aran, "plank", in Lamalera, related also to ⌐⌐ of Vatter's Solor cloth (ua matan, "node of rattan"). Then, for the large pattern there is a rhombic design which might be compared to petolã of Lamalera. This pattern is certainly of a patola-type, as is especially evident when it is repeated several times (see Ill. 127). The eight-pointed star which is part of the design should be compared with motif types 23 and 29 (Bühler 1979). This is the only direct quotation from patola patterns I have seen in the bridewealth cloth, although Maxwell (1981: figs. 14,20) illustrates two additional motifs.

The women of the village of Wailolong mentioned a cloth called kewatek ketipa, which by their description had a wide continuous ikat pattern over the centre, and only a few of the narrow ikat bands at the border. This was a cloth made locally, of Lamaholot cotton, dyed with morinda, and definitely not an imported cloth. Maxwell (1981: fig. 6)

illustrates this type of textile. She also shows a photograph of a patolu, probably of motif type 11, which she may have seen in east Flores. In Wailolong, a ketipa proper, i.e. a patolu, was supposedly unknown. The kewatek ketipa, when last seen in the village, belonged to a clan rather than to an individual. It was, in other words, a clan treasure and therefore not suitable for bridewealth. Nevertheless, the pieces known of had been sold to "tourists" (possibly professional collectors) some years before. This was considered very bad practice by my informants, possibly bringing illness and death to the clan itself.

All sarongs, including the bridewealth cloth, are made up of two panels. These are woven separately, unlike the cloth of southwestern Solor. The other two types of women's sarongs, the kewatek makasar and kewatek kenumak are characterised by a prominent use of indigo dye. The ikat in both is dyed only with indigo, and therefore appears white on blue-black. The distinction between both is the wider and more frequent ikat on the kewatek makasar. Morinda-dyed thread is also prominent, but it appears without ikat, as plain stripes (Ill. 128).

5. Conclusion.

This survey has demonstrated adequately what a surprising range of variety can be found on similar themes

in the weaving districts of the Lamaholot. In this small area, which is united by a single language, one encounters several distinct styles. These distinctions have developed independently from the divisions imposed by local rulers. The area used to be divided into dependencies of the rajas of Larantuka and Adonara, respectively (see Map 2). The boundaries thus imposed coincided with the division into Demon and Paji, a traditional separation among the Lamaholot into antagonistic groups (see Arndt 1938). Politically this division once was, and to a certain extent still is, of importance. But if we compare this political map with the distribution of distinct styles of textile decoration, there is no correlation whatever. Ili Mandiri, southern Solor, and Lamalera, all three of which have different traditional designs, are considered Demon. Adonara, Ili Api, and Atadéi, on the other hand, are Paji, and again each has a weaving style of its own. Lamalera and Atadéi, which are on opposite sides of the division, are stylistically extremely close, sharing not only certain patterns, but also the use of the central panel with continuous patola-type patterns.

Characteristic of all Lamaholot cloth is the overall division of the cloth into stripes or ikat bands, which lie horizontally, as the completed sarong panels are seen. These stripes are part of the warp; in all women's cloths the weft is of no significance as far as patterning

is concerned. The warp-faced tabby weave is universally used in Lamaholot weaving, and only in the man's cloth of Lamalera is the weft a part of the design. The general importance of the horizontal band division distinguishes Lamaholot cloth from the cloth of central Flores (Sika and Lio in particular), but it fits well into the weaving traditions of other eastern Indonesian regions.

Another point in common throughout much of Lamaholot is the importance of the "red cloth", which is the most prestigious female cloth in all regions where weaving plays a dominant rôle among the women's activities. Wherever the red sarong occurs, it is also the appropriate gift used in bridewealth. In Solor, where the kewatek mêan has become very rare, it has been replaced by another red cloth, the kewatek temodol belapit.

But beyond these two general features, which are found throughout Lamaholot, one is struck by the differences. Patterns and colour combinations vary a great deal, although the basic ingredients are uniform. Colours and dyes available are virtually identical: morinda is used for red dye, indigo for blue--black, white is the natural cotton. Only in southern Lembata (Lamalera and Atadêi) is it traditional to add stripes dyed with other vegetable dyes to the women's bridewealth cloth. Traditionally, ikat is only dyed with indigo and morinda. The patterns are of two types:

(1) thin bands of ikat decoration which emphasise the horizontal;

(2) wide ikat which can be successfully combined to form a continuous pattern.

The first type of pattern is usually quite simple in design, forming triangles, rectangles, and rhombic shapes. Although often specifically named, this nomenclature may not be widely known among local weavers. The patterns are easy to copy and do not require a great deal of experience to tie. If a name is known, this refers to a realistic object ("node of rattan" from Solor; "plank" from Lamalera). In southern Lembata, the band-type ikat decoration has been developed to include a wide variety of patterns, all of which are named, and which are preferably tied into a pattern at least nine ikat skeins wide. For example, the very popular patterns of moku, "manta ray", tẽna, "ship", kelapã̃, "tool box" (unique to Lamalera), and jaran, "horse" come under this category. They all preserve the horizontal characteristics of the ikat skein, and are not combined to form a continuous pattern.

The second type, the wide ikat pattern, can be very complex and therefore difficult to tie. Taru matã̃, ata dikã̃, and ketipa are examples from Lamalera where in each case the pattern is very intricate. It can also be quite simple, though, like the eight-pointed star from Ili Mandiri or

moku bélã, "large ray" from Lamalera. The pattern "crocodile tracks" (kowu makajan) from Solor is another example of a "simple" pattern. This type of ikat band varies in width from at least fifteen ikat skeins to over thirty. Typically it is repeated several times to form a continuous design. This continuous design is set aside into a panel of its own. In southern Lembata it makes up the wide central panel of the three-panel bridewealth cloth. In Solor and in the Ili Mandiri region it forms part of the border: in the extremely wide band found in the Solor kewatek méan, and more modestly integrated into the overall band-type of design in the red cloths of Ili Mandiri. In the rare kewatek ketipa from east Flores, which seems to be a two-panel cloth, it is spread over the entire surface, leaving only a narrow border for the small ikat bands.

Virtually all patterns which are considered to be suitable for a continous design can, I think, be attributed to the influence of patola-cloths. This can take the form of a direct copy, as in taru matã and ketipa, or it can be re-interpreted and put into a local vernacular, as ata dikã and moku bélã. To some degree, patola influences are evident throughout the Lamaholot region. They certainly are closely linked to the presence of the red adat cloths, which are, together with elephant tusks, the traditional signs of personal wealth. Throughout Lamaholot these patola influenced cloths are used as part of the bridewealth

to be given as part of marriage agreements. The remarkable exception is Adonara, where formerly patola were used instead.

This situation might suggest that the red cloths developed as patola imitations in areas where the genuine article was difficult to come by. I hesitate to advance this hypothesis, though. The relationship between indigenous patterns and the patola cloths seem to be more complex. There are areas of weaving where single patola patterns certainly can be witnessed, but where this influence has been completely, and most successfully, submitted to a very different style. Ili Mandiri and Ili Api are two examples where the local weaving has flourished, and where only exceptional concessions are made to outside influences.

In Lamalera, particular patterns are associated with certain clans. These patterns can convincingly be traced to specific patola patterns. In two cases (clans Sulaona and Lêlaona) these patterns are said to "belong" to that particular clan because the clan owns an Indian silk cloth with that pattern; it is possible that the attribution of particular designs originated with the ownership of patola cloths. It is certainly remarkable that only certain clans in the village have their "own" patterns and that these clans all trace their origin back to Lapan Batan, the semi-legendary island of the ancestors.

Any consideration of the patterns used in ikat design in Lamaholot will, to a certain degree, have to

remain speculative. But it is absolutely certain that the imported Indian cloths did change the local designs, and it is also quite clear that independently from the external influences there exists a tradition of patterns which owes little or nothing to the historical cloth trade. Although the weaving of traditional cloth is conservative, there are obviously changes that have occurred because of outside influences. These, over the centuries, have of course become accepted by tradition. It seems worth while to speculate about the possible influence European motifs could eventually have on local cloths--provided the weaving tradition does not die out.

CHAPTER XIII: A LOCAL HISTORY OF LAMALERA

It has become obvious in the preceding chapters that Lamalera's cloth production has a unique position in the Lamaholot area. The following general points have emerged concering weaving in Lamaholot:

(1) weaving is done locally, for the family's own use as clothing;
(2) weaving of bridewealth cloth is done individually, by women for their own or their female descendants' use;
(3) there are centres of cloth production where weaving is done exclusively for trade (southern Adonara, eastern Solor, and Kalikur in Kédang).

It is peculiar to Lamalera that all three aspects of the weaving tradition are present. Even the bridewealth cloth, which may be associated with particular lineages, is traded to places outside the village, thereby losing its specific local associations. Virtually all the bridewealth cloths found in the mountain villages on the slopes of the Labalekang volcano come from Lamalera.

In its heavy dependency on trading as a livelihood Lamalera has much in common with the merchant settlements on

Adonara and east Solor, yet the communities are essentially different. The traders on Adonara and Solor have close links to Buginese, Makassar, and Islamic Javanese or Sumatran merchants. They established the earliest contacts with European traders and explorers, and they see themselves entirely as suppliers of imported goods, as middlemen between the outside and the mountain population. They have been heavily Islamisized since the sixteenth-century at least. Lamalera trading, however, is entirely in indigenous products. All the goods which the women carry into the interior, and which help procure the village's means of support, are locally produced: fish, salt, textiles. The cloth taken elsewhere for trade is never of the machine-produced variety, although this is much worn and readily available in Lamalera. It is said that there is not enough profit in bartering someone else's products. Machine-spun yarn is sometimes bought and then woven into a kewatek or nofi, for further trading. The profit in that case is still around fifty per cent, which is considered worth the labour involved.

Why is this particular village so different from the trading centres on the one hand, and the inland population on the other? Let us begin with an account of their peculiar historical situation.

1. Lamalera's History.

There are nineteen clans in Lamalera at the present, all but two of which have come from the outside. At some

time prior to European contact with the region, the village was settled by refugees from Lapan Batan, an island to the east of Lembata which was destroyed by a natural disaster, probably a tidal wave resulting from submarine volcanic activity. Other communities in the Lamaholot region claim descent from Lapan Batan and give accounts of the same expulsion, and there is little doubt that the story given in Lamalera is based on fact. Lapan Batan is still considered the ancestral home of the present village. However, Lamalera's ancestors were arrivals from elsewhere on Lapan Batan, as well: ultimately, they trace their origin back to Sulawesi.

The general outline of descent and migration, from Sulawesi via Lapan Batan to Lamalera, is common knowledge in the village. The detailed account of it is known to only a few elders, though, who may tell it on particular occasions. In this century, a ceremonial recital of the history of the ancestors, and their travels to Lamalera, is said not to have taken place. I am not certain whether it was ever done, and whether the custom disappeared due to the thorough conversion to Christianity. In some other parts of Lamaholot, the village history is recited at particularly important ceremonies, such as at the building of the village temple (korke) or the yearly harvest festival. A ceremonial recital of the genealogies of all clans is also part of similar occasions in Kědang (Barnes 1974a: 56).

In 1979 it was possible to collect two detailed

accounts of the local history, one from the former kakang, Petrus Bao Dasion, of the clan Lewotukan, and the other prepared by Guru Yosef Bura Bataona. Both versions were written down in notebooks, the former explicitly for our use, the latter several years previously, in recollection of a "historical session" which had been arranged in 1939 by the village head of that time and in which an expert in historical knowledge, Kia Lakatana, recited the village history.

The two accounts vary a great deal in length and elaboration of description, but are identical when it comes to the crucial points: the route taken and places visited by the ancestors, and the positions filled by certain individuals.

The stages of migration from Sulawesi to Lapan Batan are as follows:

(1) Lau Luwuk, Lau Belu;
(2) Tẽti Serang, tẽti Goreng;
(3) Tẽti Abo, tẽti Muan;
(4) Hauk tẽti Fato Bẽla Lako;
(5) Hauk tẽti Keroko Tawa, Tria gẽrẽ;
(6) Hauk kiang tẽti Lepan, tẽti Batan.

This itinerary translates as follows (see also Map 1):

(1) Lau is a direction indicator, referring not to the

cardinal points, but to an oppostion of land and sea; it means "towards the sea". Luwuk is identified by Guru Yosef Bura with the town of that name in eastern central Sulawesi. Perhaps more to the point would be a connection to the ancient state Luwu, once situated in southeastern Sulawesi, at the Bay of Bone. The area has iron-nickel deposits, and Luwu may have had the early control of the metal export to Java and elsewhere. In the thirteenth-century Nāgarakertagama from the Majapahit kingdom of Java, Luwu is mentioned as a dependency of Majapahit (Andaya 1981: 18). The iron export from Luwu would have been important in the development of trade with outside areas. The state is "generally acknowledged as the first of the Bugis-Makassar civilizations to emerge in South Sulawesi" (Andaya, p. 19). Belu cannot be identified, but must refer to the same region, as the two names are used as a dyadic pair, i.e. not to the Belu or Tetun region of Timor.

(2) Tẽti, like lau, points to a direction, but is not specific; it means "over there, in the direction of". Serang is Seran, Goreng the small island of Goran to the east of Seran.

(3) Abo is Ambon, Muan is Moa, to the east of Timor.

(4) Hauk, or hau, means "from above", wato/fato, "large rock", lako, polecat (Leemker 1983); this place cannot be identified.

(5) Keroko is a tree, according to Teysmann (1894) the Calotropis gigantea. Tawa means "to grow, growth". Tria gẽrẽ is not identified. Again, it is not possible to

localize this place of residence.

(6) Kiang, or kia, means "first, in the first place". Lapan Batan is separated here, to allow for the formation of the dyadic pair.

When the route taken from Sulawesi to Lapan Batan is checked against a map, the journey as described has a feasible sequence. As far as we can identify stopping-off places, they follow the wide arc of islands stretching through the Banda Sea.

There is no reason to doubt the origin of Lamalera in Sulawesi. Apart from their travel account, which fits the geographical situation and therefore must be based on a knowledge of the Banda Sea, the boat-building technique used in constructing the Lamalera whaling vessel is comparable to boat building in Sulawesi (Horridge 1982).

The tradition of arriving from or via Seran and Goran can also be found on Adonara. The family of the raja of Adonara claims to originate from there.

One branch of the Lamalera group supposedly travelled to the Kei Islands, where they stayed behind and did not follow their relatives until much later, once the village at Lamalera had been established. This is the clan Atakéi.

As the oral account does not make any references to genealogies, it is impossible to suggest a date for the movement. The first name mentioned for an ancestor is Korohama,

who brought the group to the present village site from Lapan Batan. One clan, Bataona, owns a kris (Ill. 130) which according to their tradition was given by Gaja Mada to an ancestor of Korohama, when still on Sulawesi (at Luwuk-Belu).[1] The Majapahit general Gaja Mada travelled through eastern Indonesia on an expedition of conquest in 1357. He died in 1364. If the kris is in any way associated with the Majapahit expansion to Sulawesi, then the ancestors of Lamalera were still there in the mid-fourteenth-century. The village history compiled by Guru Yosef Bura speculates that the migration was closely linked to Gaja Mada's expedition, and that they were sent off as his messengers. He (Yosef Bura) points out that there is no oral tradition which connects the journey with a natural disaster or with dissent in the place of origin.

As we are dealing here with an oral tradition rather than precise historical documents, it is also possible that

---

[1] This kris is especially remarkable because it has a "golden" handle, supposedly with an image of Gaja Mada on it. It is certainly of Javanese origin. It is stored in the original clan house of Bataona, which is associated with the eldest son of Korohama's second son, the founder of the clan Bataona. It is harta pusaka, a treasure which must not leave the clan. It has the power to renew itself, should it be broken.

the kris was brought to Lamalera when Larantuka was claimed by Majapahit, as part of the same expansionist movement into eastern Indonesia (see below p. 268). As a military alliance existed between Lamalera and the ruler of Larantuka, the kris would have been an appropriate gift. In this case, the village would have been in its present position, fulfilling a dominant political rôle, by the middle of the fourteenth-century.

Once at Lapan Batan, the oral histories continue, the ancestors settled to stay. Guru Yosef Bura's account includes a description of their wealth and their contacts with Sulawesi traders, who were stopping at the island on their trading journeys to Australia. No Europeans had contacts with eastern Indonesia at this time.

The stay at Lapan Batan was finally disrupted by a flood, probably a tidal wave. The region is volcanically very active, and disasters of this sort have occurred even recently.

Kakang Petrus Bao describes the event at Lapan Batan as follows. There was an old woman who was collecting shellfish one day, while the tide was low. She caught an ikan tuna "moray eel"; she brought it home and raised it in a bowl of water, until it was fully grown.[2] When it was

---

[2] The Polynesian word for "eel" is also tuna. The tuna figures prominently in Polynesian mythology (Tregear 1891).

grown-up, however, it became wild and moved away, to stay in the hollow of a kapok tree. From its lair, it would emerge every day to capture small children and eat them. To defend themselves, the villagers took a long rod of red-hot iron and stuck it into the hollow of the kapok tree, and thus killed the tuna.[3] As they were circle-dancing around the tree, the sea water rose through the hollow, flooding the village. All fled, taking with them a boat, the "Kebako Pukã", "trunk of the kebako tree".[4] Inside the boat they took a second boat, which was not quite finished, the "Bui Pukã" (bui is a cork tree). People from three clans were travelling in the "Kebako Pukã": the leading clan Tanakrofa, Lamanudek, the owner of the boat, and Korohama's family, which later, in Lamalera, became Belikololong, Bataona, Bediona,

[3] Guru Yosef Bura's version does not mention the eel, but speaks of a snake instead.

[4] The theme of a sea animal being in the land and capturing inhabitants, thereby forcing a move, is not infrequent in the area. The ancestor of the Raja of Adonara had to leave his first settlement on the island for this reason, and the Kẽdang village of Aliuroba has a similar story. It seems to be the confusion of sea and land which initiates the disaster (cf. Barnes 1974a: 35).

Batafor, Sulaona, and Lewotukan. The stages of travel from Lapan Batan to Lamalera were:

(1) Lau Riang, lau Roma;

(2) Tẽti Tobi lau Dẽkẽ, tẽti Wato Bẽlã Baku;

(3) Noor Wutu, Lẽwokuma;

(4) Pantai Ham Bobu, Atadẽi;

(5) Luki Lẽwobala, Lẽwohajo;

(6) Doni Nusa Lẽla;

(7) Tẽti Lẽwo, lali Watan (Lamalera).

Riang, Roma refer to a place on the northeast coast of Kẽdang (see Wairiang). As this was felt to be still too close to the home they had been expelled from, the journey continued from here and followed the southern coast of Lembata. After Tobi lau Dẽkẽ (a place of tobi, "tamarind" and wato bẽlã, "large rock"), the boat passed Noor Wutu, a peninsula where the currents, wind, and waves were so strong that they almost capsized. So they agreed to pay a fine to the wind and currents, and they sacrificed one of their heirlooms, a golden bench called kuda belaung, "golden horse". When they had passed the cape and reached Pantai Ham Bobu (the beach to the south of Lẽdobelolong, a place still frequented by fishermen from Lamalera), they went ashore and called to people who were tapping palmwine, i.e. were sitting in their lontar palm trees, "May we stay

here to settle?" The people answered, "There is no room here, all is full; look at us, we have to live in our tuak trees." So they left and continued further west, past Atadéi. There again the wind and currents became extremely strong, and a newly-born daughter of Korohama cried a lot. Once more it was felt to be necessary to pay the wind and current, so they took another treasure, this time a linked chain of gold, called Sorakai, and dropped it into the sea.[5] The wind and waves calmed down, and the ancestors continued to Luki Léwobala.

Luki Léwobala is Labala, the large settlement in Labala Bay. There they settled at Léwohajo, at the junction of the trails for Waiwéjak and Atawolo. They felt comfortable there until the following incident occurred. A person from the leading clan Tanakrofa was stamping rice and through carelessness allowed the mortar to fall over, crushing a baby chick which belonged to someone in the village (one of the indigenous inhabitants). This incident caused a great deal of friction between the newcomers and the original inhabitants. Because the person from Tanakrofa could not pay the fine imposed, a gold ring, Korohama himself

---

[5] The linked chain was swallowed by a porpoise which was harpooned much later by a Lamalera whaling vessel. The chain was recovered from the stomach of the porpoise and is now stored as clan treasure.

paid it for Tanakrofa, and it was also agreed that the whole group should leave again, moving west to Wulandoni. When they were ready to depart again with their boat, the elder from the clan Tanakrofa told Korohama's family, "You now sit on the deck, we stay inside and row. We will stand in the bow and step all the way to the stern, all of this for you".[6] In other words, the leading clan transferred its position to Korohama's group.

The last place they passed before finally settling at Lamalera was Doni Nusa Lêla, or the location of Nualêla and the market Wulan Doni. The village of Nualêla, about an hour's walk away from Lamalera, is a rural community which also specialises in the making of earthenware pots. On Lembata, it is the only pottery-producing centre. The traditional earthenware cooking pots, still much used on the islands, are either made in Nualêla or are brought in by Alorese traders.

---

[6] This description, put into the mouth of Tanakrofa's elder, does not make much sense in terms of today's Lamalera boats. It suggests that there was an "inside", like a galley, where the rowers sat, while the honoured passengers, who did not have to labour, had a comfortable place above. The image evoked is strongly reminiscent of a bronze representation of a boat found in north Flores (Adams 1977: pl. IV) and of the well known Moluccan kora kora, or war ships, of the past (cf. Horridge 1978: 11).

The oral history of Lamalera specifically emphasises the importance of trading, both of goods and of knowledge, which took place on their arrival at Doni Nusa Léla. Nualéla provided the region's local ruler, the kakang to the Raja of Larantuka. They had fields which supplied them with their staples. When the new arrivals from Lapan Batan met them, they initiated an important exchange which changed the livelihood and position of each. The arrivals taught the people of Nualéla how to make pots, as they discovered the perfect earth (clay and sand) near the village site. In return, Nualéla taught the newcomers how to forge iron and make metal harpoons. Until then, they had used only wooden harpoon heads, cut from sappan wood. In addition, the Kebélén Nusaléla ("Head of Nusaléla") passed on his position of kakang, i.e. local leadership, to Korohama. According to the tradition, this transfer of power and rank took place amicably, because, "the ancestor of Nualéla recognised the superior wisdom of the ancestor of Lapan Batan". It was at this point, when the rank of the new arrivals was established, that Korohama adopted his name, which means "of equal status".

For some time they remained at Nualéla and went out to sea daily from their new settlement. But the boats were usually carried by the current to the west and came ashore at Gesi Guan Bala, Bata Balamai: the reference is to personal names associated with the original inhabitants of the site of Lamalera, and with the beach in particular.

There they met the elders of the clan Lango Fujo, who were and are the "lord of the land", tana alap, of the area and the original inhabitants, claiming descent from the mountain Labalekang. They gave them permission to settle permanently. The departure from Nualêla was amicable, and the relationship initiated on their first contact continued. The ties of friendship were emphasised by a military alliance and the promise to continue a peaceful trade with each other. Nualêla gave Korohama's group "two or three people" to take with them, to emphasise their tie of friendship. There can be no doubt that these "two or three people" were in fact given as slaves.

The arrivals at the new village site therefore were,

(1) Korohama's family, including two or three persons from Nualêla;
(2) Lamanudek;
(3) Tanakrofa.

They settled on the hillside to the west of the beach, which is where the modern Desa Lamalera A is situated. It is not clear how they were given permission to move there as the site is under a different "lord of the land". Guru Yosef Bura speculates that the introduction was made by Lango Fujo, who held a superior position to everyone in the area and

claimed original ownership. The twentieth-century layout of the village follows the description of the first settlement (see Fig. 42).

Lamamau was the "lord of the land" at the upper village site. They were given five bracelets in exchange for the permission to stay. These, however, kept mysteriously returning to the Lapan Batan group, their original owners. So finally it was agreed that a boat would be built for Lamamau instead. This vessel was the "Baka Ténã".[7]

Lamalera now has nineteen clans. Korohama had three sons; all three were addressed as ata kelaké, a title of nobility. The oldest inherited the house of Korohama and the boat "Bui Pukã". From him descends the clan Belikololong. The second son moved down to the beach to guard the boats and the entry to the village. He took the Gaja Mada kris with him and founded the clan Bataona. With him came a man from Lamanudek, who joined his household and entered his clan, Bataona. This man brought with him the boat "Kebako Pukã", the original ancestral boat, which thereafter became the property of Bataona. The youngest son stayed in the upper village and took on political responsibility by

---

[7] Lamamau eventually died out and was replaced by Tufaona, a clan allied to it through marriage. The "Baka Ténã" passed into the hands of Tufaona as well.

assuming the title of kakang. The position remained in the same family, Lewotukan, into this century. By claiming the title, the village had established itself supremely in the area. Its only superior was the Raja of Larantuka, and he was on another island, only rarely in contact with Lembata.

2. Interpretation.

While the account of travel from Sulawesi to Lapan Batan is interesting mostly for its geographical description, the second part of this oral history, the journey from Lapan Batan to Lamalera, adds a considerable degree of atmosphere and social flavour to the tale. Again, it is easy to follow the stages of the journey. There is no reason to doubt their general outline.

One particular aspect comes through strongly: the attempt to find not only a new home, but to dominate the new locale. Ultimately the migrants were very successful in their aim. These particular refugees are very different from the usual "new arrivals" of which one can find numerous examples in other Lamaholot communities. It is often the case in the area that some clans in a village claim descent from an ancestor who left his original village, whether for peaceful or hostile reasons, and then was incorporated in another community. The new arrival will hardly be allowed to dominate the local area or the community. With Lamalera's ancestors, the situation was

quite different: they came determined to rule and did not settle for less. Obviously because of their assumption of superiority, they had a hard time finding a suitable situation. The stages of their journey tell of the emergence, and legitimization, of the village's leading clan. Through the manipulation of particular situations, one man, Korohama, emerges as the dominant force, the man whose three sons divided between them the spiritual, political, and military power in the village. Yet until he arrived at Nualéla and took away the political power from that particular community, he and his family were nameless. It seems that until they hold all trumps in their hands, the Korohama family is not willing to disclose their identity. At Labala, they had taken over the leading position in the group of three refugee clans. Tanakrofa was relegated to an inferior role. At Nualéla, the regional political power was put into their hands. Finally, after settling at Lamalera, one line of Korohama's descendants, Bataona, the guardians of the village, managed to incorporate the original boat, which had carried all of them, including the Bui Pukã, into the clan, by adopting the relevant person from Lamanudek. The boat, in Lamalera, is the physical link to the ancestral home. It is thought to be a living being which has to be treated with veneration and respect. It is "fed" before taking it to sea for the first time in a season, and rebuilding and repairing a boat is connected with offerings to the vessel. By now, there are twenty-seven

boats in the village, including the original "Kebako Pukã" and "Bui Pukã". Although of course the boats have to be constantly repaired and are rebuilt every ten to twenty years, they are thought to remain the same boats. It is of great significance, therefore, if the original boat which brought the ancestors to the present village site is transferred from one clan to the other.

The man who emerges as the leader on their journey assumes the name Korohama when he takes on the regional position of power in Nualéla. The meaning is "of equal status": he announces his social position in comparison to the local ruler. He has three sons; all three are called "noblemen" (ata kelaké).[8] The oldest stays in Korohama's house and founds the clan Belikololong (beliko, "clan segment"; belolong, "high, upper, aristocratic"; see also belikung, "protector").

In the discussion of the association of ikat patterns with particular clans, it was pointed out that although there is a good deal of confusion about the appropriate patterns for certain clans the figure of ata dikã, "human", is consistently mentioned in connection with Belikololong.

---

[8] Van Lynden (1851: 324) mentions the atakabellak, the "heathen heads of state". The term is in contrast to sengaji, the title used for the Muslim rulers of Solor and Adonara.

The reason given is, "It is the clan of Korohama's eldest son". Ata dikã is interpreted as a reference to human descent, as a link of the past and the present. Through one clan Belikololong, the link to the original ancestor is established, and it is still visible today in the ikat pattern and in the clan's boat "Bui Pukã".

The second son moved down to the beach, to guard the entrance to the village. He founded the clan Bataona (Bata is the name of a particular sacred stone resting place which used to be found there; ona is "inside").[9] The clans Batafor, Sulaona, Bediona all derived from Bataona, which is still a very powerful clan. The responsibility for guarding the entrance to the village is associated with military power; it is probably for this reason that Bataona was given the heirloom of Gaja Mada's kris.

The third son received the position of kakang, and he founded the clan Lewotukan. The name (lẽfo, "village"; tukã, "centre, middle") describes the position appropriate for the ruler, in the centre of the community. His clan house is placed in the centre of the village, immediately to the north of the meeting place. The position of kakang, local ruler and executor of the raja's orders, remained in the same family until the office was abandoned in the

---

[9] Bata, the sacred stone pile, was owned by Lango Fujo; Bataona adopted only the name, but not the ownership of the stones.

early 1960's.

The two clans which gave the Lapan-Batan refugees the permission to settle at the site, Lango Fujo and Lamamau, had little influence and power in the village, being in effect outsiders to it, as in certain respects the two lord of the land groups are today. As the arrivals did not request land for fields, but only room to establish a village, they did not require a ceremonial blessing of the land, such as is performed annually by the lord of the land in agricultural communities, but both lords of the land participate in a similar annual ceremony opening the fishing season and may undertake further ceremonies in the mountain when the season is bad.

No doubt the first arrivals were confident of their own value. They must, however, also have had something to offer to the indigenous population. The description of the encounter with Nualéla gives us a fairly clear idea of what this was. The meeting supposedly was entirely amicable, and "much trading" took place. In particular, Nualéla showed the Lapan Batan group how to forge iron, so that they could make their own metal harpoons. Until then, they had only used harpoons made of sappan wood. In return, the strangers could teach the locals how to make pots; in this particular craft Nualéla still excels. Nowadays, there is no blacksmith in Nualéla, and no pots are made in Lamalera. This exchange of technology is most interesting for a particular reason: smithery is strictly a male activity

in Lamalera, while pottery is an entirely female craft in Nualêla. We have the juxtaposition of the two, smithery and pottery, and an exchange of one for the other. But the exchange also takes place between male and female.[10]

The account of the meeting between the two communities stresses the importance of trade as a means of exchanging knowledge and achieving gains. Lamalera's history places a considerable emphasis on the exchange which was initiated then and which is still carried on today. Doni Nusa Lêla refers to the village Nualêla and the market Wulan Doni, which is close to the village. This market still exists and is the most important meeting place for the exchange of locally produced goods. Unlike the markets at Lewoleba and Labala, which are visited primarily to sell or buy goods using money as currency, Wulan Doni is entirely dominated by the barter for produce. From Lamalera, only women come to the market, very much in contrast to the visitors from inland, who are male or female. Trade from Lamalera is firmly in the hands of the women.

---

[10] Barley (1983) in a paper on blacksmiths draws attention to the African ethnographic situation, where the blacksmith's wife is also the potter, and where the particular powers associated with the blacksmith also apply to the potter. In fact, the same professional term is used for both.

No mention is made in the historical account of the exchange of cloth, clothing, or the knowledge of weaving. Vatter (1932: 205) mentions that the art of weaving was brought to Lamalera by the Lapan Batan group; I received no definite answer to the question. Weaving and pottery may be linked in a negative sense; Lambooy (1927: 232-8) mentions for the people of Lewa, in the interior of Sumba, that both weaving and the making of pots is prohibited to them. They are the only people on Sumba who have no tradition of descent from elsewhere, of reaching Sumba from the outside, but claim to originate within the island. This may be compared to the prohibition on weaving as found in Kédang, also a people who claim descent from the mountain on whose slopes their villages are established. If Vatter's information is correct, the Lapan Batan group knew both how to weave and make pots, both occupations which may be prohibited to the indigenous population. Today, all pots used in dyeing the local thread have to be made in Nualéla. These are especially ordered, large-mouthed dye bowls.

The last aspect I want to consider in connection with the oral tradition is the degree to which Lamalera culture has become identical with the indigenous Lamaholot tradition. It has to be remembered, though, that Lamaholot, despite being united by one language and many general cultural traits, is also a remarkably diverse area. Despite the long-standing claims of the rajas of Larantuka and Adonara, there is little political unity. Local warfare

between villages was common into this century, and in fact still continues in some parts.

The community of Lamalera has adopted the Lamaholot language completely. They have, however, their own dialect. Keraf classifies the Lamalera dialect, together with the dialect of Mulan to the east of them, as an eastern branch of West Lamaholot unlike the village's immediate neighbours to the west, Lewotala, Imulolo, and Lewopenutu, which are High Lamaholot (Keraf 1978, appendix VI). Mulan, interestingly, is the area in the Labala Bay where Lamalera first settled. Lamalera social relationships and the traditional myths, clan relationships as expressed by marriage rules, and concepts of right and wrong are all versions of the usual Lamaholot pattern. The importance of the clan, its embodiment in the clan house, langó bélã̃, which establishes and constantly reinforces the link to the ancestors, is equally strongly expressed in other Lamaholot areas. Visually and linguistically the village is definitely part of the culture of Lamaholot. The weaving terms are variations of those in use throughout the area. The female sarong, although distinguished from other areas, nevertheless fits comfortably into the stylistic approach of the Lamaholot ikat cloth, as distinct from central Flores, Timor, Roti, Savu, or Sumba.

There are some very significant distinctions, though, which make Lamalera different from any other place in the area. Their sea-bound culture has no local parallel, except

in Lamakera, Solor, with which they have a variety of significant historical links. Finally, the male cloth, nofi, is distinct from the men's sarongs woven elsewhere in Lamaholot. While the usual cloth is decorated with warp stripes which appear as horizontal lines when it is worn, the Lamalera nofi has a tartan-like plaid design, created by weaving with both warp and weft stripes. It appears to be very close in design to the store-bought lipa, and I was until recently convinced that it was modelled on the commercial cloth. However, it now seems at least worthwhile considering the possibility of a much older connection to Sulawesi. This kind of patterning is very ancient there; see the lipa bannang, the traditional plaid sarong of the Bugis, or the money-cloth of eastern Sulawesi and Buton (Gittinger 1979a: ill. 157, also pp. 201-2).

The landbased and the female side of village life, then, has been fully integrated into Lamaholot culture, albeit with a variation in habits and in objects produced. The male and seabased aspects of Lamalera, on the other hand, preserve many features of a culture which is very distinct from Lamaholot. The village community was willing to accept other outside arrivals later in its history, as long as these could adapt themselves to the sea-faring and trading lives led there. Korohama's descendants were interested in a strong community and welcomed others who came from

Flores (Ebaona) or Solor (Lamakera), or from the Kei Islands in the east. That particular clan, Atakéi, is said to have left with the original group from Sulawesi, but diverted to Kei, joining Lamalera only much later. From the inland villages, slaves were brought into Lamalera, some of whom were adopted into existing clans, and other outsiders joined local clans in other ways. Nualéla had promised military assistance when the Korohama group left to found Lamalera and gave them "a few people" to emphasise this obligation. Doubtless these persons were slaves, in the sense that their future movement was restricted and depended on the needs of the Lapan Batan group. From them derived the clan Lélaona, which became so powerful and rich at one time that they were suspected of witchcraft and black magic. Belikololong and its allies killed nearly all of them. Lélaona later reestablished itself, but was forced to take up residence on the stone cliff which divides the upper and lower parts of the village.

CHAPTER XIV: HISTORY AS KNOWN THROUGH DOCUMENTS

1. Early European Contacts.

> The Malay merchants say that God made Timor for sandalwood and Banda for mace and the Moluccas for cloves, and that this merchandise is not known anywhere else in the world except in these places; and I asked and enquired very diligently whether they had this merchandise anywhere else and everyone said not (Pires 1944, vol. 2: 204).

These are the words of Tomé Pires, whose Suma Oriental is one of the earliest reliable European sources on the Indonesian archipelago. It underlines the fact that the resources of the eastern islands were well known to Southeast Asian traders prior to European arrivals. There is no mention made, however, in the local history of Lamalera of any connection with outside traders, other than the brief encounter with representatives of the Majapahit empire, which may have anticipated the removal from Sulawesi. Guru Yosef's history mentions that while on Lapan Batan, the ancestors had active contacts with Sulawesi merchants who were travelling to and from Australia, but there is no consistent oral tradition of such contact in the village.

Looking from the village to the outside, it is not possible to establish links to the Asian maritime trade at large, at this time.

The expansion of the Majapahit empire into eastern Indonesia took place in 1357, under the command of the Majapahit general Gaja Mada. He died in 1364; the Nāgarakertagama of 1365 claims Solor as a dependant of the Javanese empire (see Pigeaud 1962, vol. 4: 34). For the next century and a half, nothing more was heard of the area; only with the arrival of European traders did the Lamaholot region begin to enter documents and descriptive accounts.

In 1511 d'Albuquerque, the Portuguese Viceroy, conquered Malaka. In the same year, an exploratory journey to the east was undertaken from this trading city. The pilots of one of the three vessels was Francisco Rodrigues, who wrote down his accounts and drew maps, as guides to future travellers. In the Book of Francisco Rodrigues (1944: LXXIX), he says,

> After seizing Malacca in the middle of August 1511, and before sailing back to India in December of the same year, Afonso de Albuquerque sent ships with ambassadors to Pegu and Siam, and a fleet of three vessels to discover the Spice Islands.[1]

---

[1] The Book of Francisco Rodrigues was redicovered in the same codex as Tomé Pires's Suma Oriental and published by A. Cortesão together with Pires (1944).

The native pilots (there were two) led the boats past Flores, Adonara, and Batu Tara, a small, uninhabited volcanic island which is visible from Adonara and Lembata, and which apparently served as a navigational landmark. It is also mentioned by Tomé Pires (1944, vol. 2: 204) and Valentijn (1726, vol. 3: 120).

In 1522, the Spanish ship "Victoria", Magalhães's boat, travelled through these waters, following the reverse course from the Moluccas to Timor (Le Roux 1929). The native pilots were from Tidore; they gave the name of Alicur to the northeast of Lembata. This is identical with Kalikur, formerly the dominant trading place for that part of the island (Barnes 1974a: 10-11).

Rodrigues's notes and drawings were the first European eye-witness account, but the source of cloves, nutmeg, and peppers, the Moluccas, had been described on hear-say evidence by others. When it says "discover", therefore, in Rodrigues's Book, this can only refer to the exact route as known to Europeans. It had also been known for some time that the source of sandalwood was Timor. The usual journey for the merchant boats was to go to Timor first, and then, through the Solor straits, north to the Spice Islands. The sandalwood and the aromatic spices were the two commodities which particularly interested the European traders. The Solor--Flores area in addition could export beeswax, sulphur, edible bird's-nests, tortoise shell, and

some ambergris.

Cloves, which are the dried, unopened flower buds of a tree of the myrtle family, are now cultivated throughout the tropical world. The tree, however, is indigenous only to five small islands: Ternate, Tidore, Mutir, Machian, and Bachian, which lie along the west coast of Halmahera. Together with the Banda group to the south, the home of the nutmeg tree, these islands constitute the historical Spice Islands. Sandalwood, the other commodity, is a small parasitic tree which flourishes in a dry, rocky soil. The drier the area, the richer the fragrance of the wood becomes. Timor, with its prolonged dry season and uncertain rainfall, was a natural home for sandalwood of the highest quality. Cloves, nutmeg, and sandalwood had been familiar to the ancient mediterranean cultures, and demand for them always remained high. They were considered as luxury items, in the same category as precious metals, gems, and silk.

Botanical and medical writing of classical scholars can determine which spices and aromatics were known in the Western world. Theophrastus (372-288 B.C.), a pupil of Aristotle, and the first to describe all known plants by categories, wrote two books on spices and aromatics: Inquiry into Plants, and On Odours. He knew that many spices came from the East; he mentioned cinnamon and the related cassia, cardamom, and two types of pepper. Cratenas, the physician of Mithridates, wrote on spices as antidotes to poison. Dioscorides, also a physician,

wrote in his Materia Medica (A.D. 65) on the definition and function of spices and aromatics. He also tried to inform about their sources; in this respect the classical authors usually became vague and fanciful. The traders were apparently interested in concealing the origin of their supplies, if they themselves knew. Cloves, nutmeg, and cinnamon seem to have come from the same group of traders (see Miller 1969: 47). They reached the Mediterranean via East Africa and Egypt.

Pliny was the first to dismiss the stories of the origin of the spices, which were supposedly found "in dangerous swamps, guarded by bats", but offered instead a description of traders who carried their goods,

> Over the wide seas in ships that are neither steered by rudders nor propelled by oars or drawn by sails nor assisted by any device of art: in those regions only man and man's boldness stands in place of all these things (Natural History, Book XII, §87).

He continues,

> They say that it is almost five years before the traders return home and that many perish on the journey. In return for their wares they bring back articles of glass and copper, clothing, and buckles, bracelets and necklaces (§88).

Another source which mentions the sea trade in much more detail is the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, approximately contemporary with Pliny; the document was probably written between A.D. 79 and 84 or 85. It is an account of navigation and trade, with occasional anecdotal descriptions of localities. In §15/16 the East African port Rhapta is described and raft-type boats are mentioned which were used locally for fishing; the same kind of boat, only much larger, is again mentioned from the southeast coast of India (§60). Their local name is given as sangara. Both Pliny and the Periplus agree about the mediterranean products which are shipped to the East: glass, bronze or copper ware, and cloth or clothing. Pliny also mentions "buckles, bracelets, and necklaces", which are not found in the Periplus. Miller argues that such goods would not be sent to India, which was sufficiently industrialized to make its own jewellery, but that they would be a natural form of export to Indonesia (Miller 1969: 159). Roman beads have been found on Flores, where they were still in use as parts of necklaces in the 1950's (Raats 1958: 1023).

The peculiar boats mentioned by both Pliny and the Periplus could be Indonesian outrigger vessels; they are interpreted as such by Miller. He, following Hornell, thinks there is sufficient evidence to consider it likely that the initial trade was carried on by sea-faring people from eastern Indonesia (Miller 1969: 163, Hornell 1934, 1946).

It is certain that Indonesians had a major influence on Madagascar. Before further conclusive linguistic and archaeological evidence comes to light, however, the date of contact remains a matter of historical speculation. I want to mention again, at this point, that raffia ikat occured on Madagascar and was still produced earlier in this century. Bühler considers this to be the more "primitive" form of ikat which was supplanted by cotton ikat in Indonesia. Remnants of it have been found in the archipelago. The patterns found on Madagascar raffia ikat cloths have many similarities to eastern Indonesian designs. A further investigation is necessary, both of the technique and of the pattern distribution.

The earliest European document which mentioned the Indonesian spice and sandalwood trade was Marco Polo's account of his travels. On the Chinese trade with Indonesia he remarks,

> And I tell you with regard to that Eastern Sea of Chin, according to what is said by the experienced pilots and mariners of those parts, there be 7459 Islands in the waters frequented by the said mariners; and that is how they know the fact, for their whole life is spent in navigating that sea. And there is not one of those Islands but produces valuable and odorous woods like the

> lignaloe [aloe-wood, used in incense, found in Malaya, Borneo, and the Maluccas], and they produce also a great variety of spices....In fact the riches of those islands is something wonderful, whether in gold or precious stones, or in all manner of spicery; but they lie so far off from the main land that it is hard to get to them. And when the ships of Zayton and Kinsay do voyage thither they make vast profits by their venture (Polo 1871, vol. II, Book 3: 209).

The goods brought from the East were apparently traded on Sumatra and Java; he continues,

> The island [Sumatra] is of surpassing wealth, producing black pepper, nutmegs, spikenard, galingale, cubebs, cloves, and all other kinds of spices. This island is also frequented by a vast amount of shipping, and by merchants who buy and sell costly goods from which they reap great profit (ibid., p. 217).

Marco Polo's journey through the western Indonesian islands occurred at the end of the thirteenth-century, probably about 1291. He travelled in a fleet of fourteen Chinese merchant boats, from Fokien in China to the Persian Gulf. His description of the islands is vague and fanciful,

but we have little else for another two hundred years, until the Portuguese initiated in earnest the opening up of the Southeast Asian market to European traders. Two Portuguese writers gave an early account of the trade with eastern Indonesia: Duarte Barbosa completed his Book in 1516, after his travels in India and the East, and Tomé Pires wrote his Suma Oriental in Malacca and India between 1512 and 1515. Duarte Barbosa in particular gives a lively picture of the international nature of the Asian trade. Of Timor he says,

> In this Island there is abundance of white sanders-wood which the Moors in India and Persia value greatly, where much of it is used....The ships of Malaca and Java which come hither for it bring in exchange axes, hatchets, knives, swords, Cambaya and Paleacate cloths [Cambaya is Gujarat; Paleacate is the Coromandel Coast], porcelain, coloured beads, tin, quicksilver, lead and other wares, and take in cargoes of the aforesaid sanders-wood, honey, wax, slaves, and also a certain amount of pepper which grows in that land (Barbosa 1918-21, vol. 2: 196).

The Moluccas' cloves were brought to Banda, the home of nutmeg, and further traded from there:

> Those who come hither to buy it bring Cambaya cloths

> some of cotton and some of silk. [In the Banda isles] they hold to be rich treasures great bells of metal [actually gongs], ivory, patolas (that is to say Cambaya cloths) and fine porcelain (ibid., p. 198).

The patola mentioned here also appear in his account of trade in Pegu, where they are described as follows: "They are coloured with great skill, and are here worth much money". They are brought by "Moorish ships", i.e. Muslim traders which could be either Gujarati or Arab traders who had picked up cloths in Cambay.

Tomé Pires's description of the trade of Cambay is as follows,

> These people are [like] Italians in their knowledge of and dealings in merchandise....Their general designation is Gujaratees....There is no doubt that these people have the cream of the trade....There are Gujaratees settled everywhere (Pires 1944, vol. 2: 41).

When the Portuguese first come to Solor, they discovered Indian merchants on the island; one of them, a Muslim from Calicut, was making gunpowder. The traders from Cambay, in particular, dominated Southeast Asian merchandise.

Their chief port was Malacca, which had become the focal point for all trading in that part of the world. Portugal, by conquering it, had aimed to control the heart of a huge trade network, stretching from China to East Africa and the Near East. It is clear from both Duarte Barbosa's and Tomé Pires's descriptions that the sea trade was extremely diverse, and that the merchants had to know which goods would be required where. The Cambay cloth, both cotton and silk, was much in demand everywhere in Southeast Asia. As far as the eastern Indonesian islands were concerned, they seem to have been exporters of raw goods only and to have received in return almost exclusively manufactured articles: cloth, metal goods, beads via the Indian trade, and porcelain in particular from China.

How did the Lamaholot, and more especially Lamalera, fit into this trade network? By 1515, Portuguese merchants began to visit the area (see Jacobs 1974, vol. 1: 301). In the Suma Oriental, Pires described Soloro, which has to be understood to mean both Flores and the Solor Islands,

> The island of Solor is very large. It has a heathen King. It has many ports and many foodstuffs in great plenty. It has countless tamarinds; it has a great deal of sulphur, and it is better known for this product than for any other. They take a large quantity of foodstuffs from

> this island to Malacca, and they take tamarinds and sulphur....The same merchandise is of value in the said islands as in Java (Pires 1944, vol. 2: 203).

Referring to the latter point, of merchandise for Java, he reported,

> Many cloths of all kinds are disposed of in Grisee [Gresik], and in large quantities. They are sold to most of Java and to many other islands (ibid., p. 194).

Most Portuguese and later Dutch sources are only mildly enthusiastic about the area called Solor. There were few export articles, which one could not get in much greater quantity elsewhere. The one important factor, and the reason why the region was approached at all, was the calm strait between Solor and Adonara which provides a real haven from the rough open sea at certain times of the year. Apparently there were well-established communities of merchants, Chinese or Indian, who had preceded the Portuguese; and there were enough supplies available for their trading vessels to be replenished. The European arrivals made their contacts through the well-established coastal villages and made no attempts to break new ground by contacting parts of the area which were not directly connected to the familiar trade network. They settled on Solor, but also had frequent

contacts with Adonara's trading villages across the strait. No attempt was made to contact Lembata: that island was believed to be wild and full of heathens. The local rulers on Solor were reported to call themselves sengadji or sang adipati. The first term was used as an honorific title both on Java and on Ternate, the latter was Javanese. They told both the Portuguese and later the Dutch that they were allies with, and dependants of, the Sultan of Ternate. This is confirmed by information the Portuguese were given on Ternate (Basilio de Sá 1956: 321).

The Portuguese, who had encountered numerous Muslims on Solor, both foreign and local converts, were anxious to bring their own religion to the area. Five years after the first Dominican mission had been sent to India, the Dominican order was established in Malaka in 1554. From there, Pater Antonio Taveiro worked in Timor and southern Flores (Endeh). In 1559, the Jesuit Balthazar Diaz visited Solor. Although he had to report numerous Muslims, and already a mosque on the island, he could also note some conversions to Catholicism which had been made by Portuguese merchants on Solor and east Flores (Lewonama). Two years later the local ruler of Solor requested a Jesuit mission, which could not be granted. Instead, the Bishop of Malacca sent three Dominicans.

Thus began a century of direct control and presence of Europeans, at first of the Portuguese, and then the Dutch. Although the Europeans were initially welcome, the relationships

between them and the local rulers were not without friction. The sengaji were happy enough to establish regular trading relations, and they let it be known that they were particularly interested in ivory and in silk patola (Basilio de Sá 1956: 480). They were willing to be converted to Christianity, as long as their suzerainty was left untouched and they could remain in charge of local affairs. When the Europeans showed great insensitivity to their sense of influence and power, i.e. when a local leader was humiliated, it led to bloody conflict. This could lead to a large-scale switching of religions. The Solor village of Lamakera, for instance, once all Catholic, was razed to the ground by the Portuguese in 1599 following a local rebellion, and thereafter, once rebuilt, converted to Islam. It has been an entirely Muslim village ever since.

Lamakera and its anti-Christian Muslims are responsible for the first mentioning of Lamalera. In 1618, a Catholic priest was killed on Solor, under unclear circumstances connected with an uproar of anti-Christian activities. Two other priests fell into the hands of Lamakera, a village still outraged about the action of the Portuguese in 1599. Both men were facing a death sentence. However, they managed to escape in a small boat and fled to Lembata. The stormy sea carried them ashore in Lamalera. When Lamakera heard about their presence there, they requested their return to Solor, under threat of warfare if their demand was not fulfilled. Lamalera agreed when the Lamakera contingent

captured the head of Lamalera returning with a party from a trip out of the village. The two priest agreed to return to Lamalera and ended their lives under torture.

A Portuguese document of 1624 gave the first short account of the island of Lembata, with the following interesting details,

> The island Levoleba [i.e. Lembata] is inhabited by people who are called Demonaras and Paginaras.... There is a big community of Moslems, called Lavobala; they do commerce with us, they come often to our lands, and we go rarely to theirs, because there are no Christians there....The inhabitants of the island busy themselves with the hunting of whales, with harpoons, of which there are plenty. There is no trade of ambergris, because the people are too savage, but we wait for it at Larantuka. They also trade wax, slaves, and sea turtle [tortoise shell] (Basilio de Sá 1956: 486-87).

This is the earliest mention of the hunting of whales in this part of the world, and there can be no doubt that the reference is to Lamalera. Lavobala is Labala, the residence of a local ruler. The antiquity of Islam's presence on Lembata is herewith attested.

Both Lamalera and Labala are ignored by European

accounts for the next two hundred and fifty years. The last decade of the nineteenth-century brought the first contacts for Lamalera with Dutch Catholic missionaries. In 1859, Larantuka and with it the entire Lamaholot region had officially been transferred from Portuguese to Dutch control, following a payment of fl 80,000 which the Dutch had made to the Portuguese in 1851. The local rulers were outraged. They had considered themselves as equal negotiators with the European powers and now felt that they had been sold. Nevertheless, the Dutch consolidated their power, and the missionising of the local population in general helped their efforts.

The document of 1624 mentioned above is important for one other reason: it first mentions for Lembata the division of Demon and Paji which is so important in some parts of Lamaholot. In east Flores, the opposition is discussed in terms of opposite forces in a mythological way (see Arndt 1938), but the further east one goes, the more purely political the division becomes. On Lembata, Lamalera is Demon, Labala Paji, and everyone is very much aware of the division, even today.[2] But there is no evidence of the

---

[2] The hostile incident which took place at Lewohajo above Labala when the Lapan Batan group tried to settle there takes on a special hue in light of the Demon--Paji split.

mythological struggle between the two brothers, as one finds in the west of Lamaholot. Local rulers are much more likely to discuss the division, or point it out, than the ordinary villager. The Portuguese source which mentions the two names reflects very likely the account of a leading coastal village. It refers to political power and influence; that is why the Europeans became so quickly aware of it. The Portuguese made their first contacts with communities which considered themselves Paji. These almost inevitably turned Muslim. Only their later contacts among Demon communities, which converted to Catholicism, continued under Portuguese influence.

2. Local Tradition in Historical Context.

When the two different types of historical accounts--local, oral history and the scanty European documents--are brought together and compared, the only remotely common aspect to emerge is the importance of trading. Lamalera's ancestors left their first home in Sulawesi for uncertain reasons, but there is no evidence that they travelled because they were forced out. Their story makes it clear that they knew where they were going and that they were travelling on familiar ground. To trade was essential to settling permanently. The earliest European descriptions draw a similar picture. The Indonesian waters were teeming with Chinese, Indian, and Javanese traders. The Europeans

were not altogether welcome when it became clear that they were interested in establishing trade monopolies.[3] They insisted on sole rights where for centuries others had traded, who now were pronounced pirates by the Portuguese.

But beyond this very general point of the intensity of trade, there is little the two accounts share. The inter-island trade in sought-after commodities moved in a different sphere from the local trade which Lamalera depended on. An exception probably was the trade with ambergris, which was sometimes discovered by Lamalera's whalers and then traded in Larantuka and possibly Timor.[4] The Europeans contacted merchants and local rulers on Solor

---

[3] In 1563, a fleet of Javanese Muslims arrived on Solor to drive out the Portuguese from their new stronghold. Just as the attack was becoming heated, a Portuguese galleon happened to return from Ternate, by lucky chance, and rescued her countrymen (Cacegas and de Sousa 1678, vol. 3: 347-48).

[4] The Portuguese medical man Garcia da Orta says (1913: 25) in his Colloquies of 1563 in a section on amber (ambergris), "some is found on Timor, but seldom and in small quantity". He was also certain of the source for the best sandalwood, "I say that it is in Timor, an island which has many ports on both sides, and that the port of Mena is best of all" (p. 395).

and Adonara who were middlemen, importers and traders in foreign goods for which they gathered local products, which they then passed on into the trade network. The same villages now still fill the same position: they are traders who import to sell, and buy to export. The men in these communities are very mobile and spend a considerable time of their adult lives working for cash wages in some other part of Indonesia. Their absence may become permanent, to the degree that the proportion of females to males in these coastal villages can be extremely high. The women are very active weavers who produce primarily to sell.

Lamalera men and women, however, are producers and traders. Their merchandise is entirely indigenous. They are unique in their local environment, and they can provide the indigenous population with food and cloth, for which there is always a market. They have assimilated the local cultural patterns more thoroughly than the merchant centres on Solor and Adonara ever did.

The most important question we are faced with in the contrast between two trading traditions is how to explain the difference. First, I wish to consider again why it is correct to compare the traditions. The indigenous populations of Lamaholot, like many Indonesian peoples, have as little as possible to do with the sea. Their legends of origin, of wealth and fertility, are all land-oriented. They do very little fishing, and they are afraid of the sea.

They usually have a tradition of tales about giant sea monsters, either octopi or giant squid, who are a danger to man. Among the Lamaholot only Lamalera and the Islamic traders have a long-standing tradition of getting their livelihood from the sea. Furthermore, they both trade, and they have adapted so well to their roles that they have achieved dominance over the inland populations.

Is it possible to unravel the puzzle which is created by trading relationships by looking at the weaving patterns? Solheim wrote about the emergence of Indonesian society of today,

> Indian models became popular among the developing states of Southeast Asia, and where the Chinese did not take over, as in northern Vietnam, the Indian model was taken up and the indigenous beginnings were disguised and so became hard to recognize. The so-called Malay sea traders were the one portion of the Southeast Asian world that continued active and expanding. They continued to trade to and settle aggressively in some areas of Java, in Sumatra, around A.D. 1000 into Malaya, and north during the second millennium A.D. It was these people who first came into close contact with Islam, became Islamic, and continued to expand into eastern Indonesia and northward into the Philippines (Solheim 1979: 200).

In my opinion, the Islamic trading centres on Solor and Adonara are descendants of this group of "Malay sea traders". Although they have a permanent base in a particular community, they are constantly moving from market to market. Their leaders have traditionally exploited the indigenous population, both for services and material goods. They live by import and export, by exchanging raw materials of the region for non-indigenous, manufactured goods, which are non-essential luxuries. They produce, in their weaving, a unique type of cloth which is largely independent of local styles.

The traders of Lamalera, on the other hand, have integrated themselves much more fully into the indigenous economy. Their textiles are among the most skilled and accomplished in the traditional Lamaholot style; they use patterns which are common, with variations, throughout the area. However, there are two types of motifs:

(1) those used in narrow bands of ikat decorations;
(2) those suitable for the central design.

At one time in the past, of uncertain date, the Indian patola cloths were brought into the area. I was told repeatedly that as the cloths had been passed down by the ancestors, they had brought them from Lapan Batan. This suggestion, however, is pure speculation. The clan Lélaona,

which did not accompany the Korohama group all the way from Lapan Batan, owns one of the best preserved patola in the village.

The assimilation of the Indian patterns to local design is the Lamaholot response to the "Indian models" mentioned above. Elsewhere in the area, wherever weaving is prominent, patola cloths were also collected and single patterns adopted.

The eager acceptance of foreign cloth and its integration into local costume has been documented from an early date. Wouter Schouten's account (1676, vol. 1: 79 ff.) of his travels to the East Indies described the open approach which the people of Solor showed to the Dutch and how they tried to barter provisions for cloth rather than money. This was in contrast to the men and women of Adonara, whom he described as going almost completely naked, except for loincloths. An early engraving of the European fort at Lohayong, Solor shows a nobleman walking with his valet (Commelin 1646, vol. 4: 65). The local nobleman, presumably the sengaji of Lohayong, is wearing a European jacket and hat and apparently a local sarong. Hazaart (1834) describes the sarong of the Solorese in his resident's report of 1834 for Timor and Dependencies as "coarse, with stripes, or of the Bugis-type". Some men wore European headdress. No doubt he is writing of the coastal settlements. Fifty years later Greve (1884, 1887), in his resident's reports, spoke

of the goods which are much desired in the Solor Islands and mentioned both ivory tusks and silk shawls (ketipa). This date is very late for the trade in these goods.

Nowhere in Lamaholot did such a subtle adoption of patola designs take place as in Lamalera. The patterns associated with the wealthy aristocratic clans were displayed in the central pamel, framed at either end by indigenous patterns of a very different tradition. The narrow band pattern is considered to be a tradition peculiar to Indonesian textiles. It is also found on textiles from Savu, Roti, Timor, and the eastern Moluccas. Its most typical aspects, i.e. band designs with small geometric patterns which cover the entire surface, is pan-Indonesian. Heine-Geldern (1937) was the first to link it with archaeological finds of mainland Southeast Asia, in particular with the bronze metal drums of Indochina. Similar objects have been found in Indonesia, and Heine-Geldern believed that he could show a link, due to migrations of people and objects, between the Bronze and early Iron Age civilizations of Europe, China, and Southeast Asia. From mainland Southeast Asia, waves of migrations supposedly brought technologies and artistic styles into the Indonesian archipelago and carried them further into the Pacific Basin.

Archaeologists have usually been dubious of Heine-Geldern's sweeping ideas. The notion of migrations as culture distributors, in particular on this geographic

scale, is not seriously discussed at the moment. Nevertheless, we are faced with striking similarities in motifs, which suggest that connections existed between eastern and southern Europe and Asia. We do not have to accept the migration theory to become convinced that contacts could have existed which helped to distribute a certain art style, a certain preference for representation and motifs. Solheim (1979) has called for a cautious re-appraisal of Heine-Geldern's approach; Woodward (1980) has suggested a similar review. Art historians, who think in terms of cross-cultural influences and in traditions of formal conventions, find much that is congenial in Heine-Geldern's work. I want to close this chapter with a consideration of his interpretation of Indonesian art styles, as far as it relates to the art of eastern Indonesia. Heine-Geldern bases his analysis on the assumption that the Indonesian archipelago was settled by people from the mainland who brought with them,

(1) a megalithic culture, associated with the neolithic epoch, or the third millennium B.C. followed by
(2) a Bronze Age culture, of the first millennium B.C.

The first, megalithic culture was associated by Heine-Geldern with a "monumental art style", characterized by simplified, large forms, with no interest in decorative details. The second, Bronze Age culture brought with it the

"ornamental art style", which is characterized by small-scale, geometric designs which covered the artistic object, with great attention to detail. Art historians of Indonesian textiles have used this division into two styles when discussing the basic nature of traditional eastern Indonesian textile designs. Sumba cloths, from an island with strong megalithic cultural traces, are supposed to represent the "monumental", with large representations of humans and animals. The narrow band decoration found elsewhere is an example of the "ornamental" art style. Both, supposedly, originated on mainland Southeast Asia.

Archaeological discoveries of the last ten years or so, however, are beginning to tilt the picture into a different angle. Solheim has reported on excavations in the Philippines (Kalanay Cave, published about by Solheim 1957); similar finds come from Palawan (Manunggul Cave, of the Tabon Caves Excavations, Fox 1970). They are pottery finds with decorations in the "ornamental style". Their dates go back to 890 B.C. and 1050 B.C. for the Manunggul Cave; an even earlier date exists for the Lie Siri Cave in eastern Timor, 890 B.C., 1955 B.C., 1970 B.C. This is certainly an earlier dating than the earliest suggested for the Dong-son culture of Vietnam.

Solheim gives a list of motifs associated with the Kalanay Pottery tradition of Island Southeast Asia, and compares them with the Dong-son bronze tradition and its

motifs (Solheim 1979: 182-4, 188-9). My Figure 43 gives some of the bronze and pottery motifs. I have added a list of comparable motifs which appear in the traditional ikat design of the Lamaholot. It is the accumulation of their presence in combination with the circular zones which makes the comparison valuable. The band decoration of the ikat is intended to be circular, as the sarong is worn as a tube. It is simply inconceivable to the Lamaholot women to wear a locally made sarong in anything other than the circular shape in which it comes off the loom. This is in contrast to the Javanese kain batik, which is a large rectangular shape wrapped around the body; factory-produced, inexpensive versions of this type of cloth are also available to the Lamaholot women.

From the present point of view, while considering the history of particular textile designs, it is significant to realize that cloths which are made today, in our century, show patterns which have been part of the indigenous Southeast Asian maritime tradition for a long time. They certainly have close links to the bronze objects, in particular the kettle drums, which came into the archipelago from the mainland. But it changes the view we have of Indonesian textiles if we realize that they did not ultimately depend on this particular influence. The tradition of design, as exemplified by the archaeological pottery finds, is older than the introduction of the bronzes.

The distinction between a "monumental" and an "ornamental" style may lose its meaning in light of the pottery discoveries. In recent Indonesian art, the two modes of representation are usually found side by side, and the division often becomes arbitrary. One of the hallmarks of the so-called monumental style is the stylized representation of ancestor figures, and a common motif is the double spiral which derives from a representation of buffalo horns, sometimes combined with female breasts. Vroklage illustrates several house doors with carved decorations which combine the "ornamental" in the lower parts of the doors with the "monumental", in the representations of females or female breasts, which appear together with a buffalo-horn head-dress (Vroklage 1953, vol. 3: pls. 368, 369).

As we have seen, the ancestor figure is adopted in textile patterns, both in the band-type design and in the patola inspired motifs. It cannot be seen as belonging to the "monumental" in particular. The double spiral motif, if interpreted as a symbol of fertility, should be compared to the Lamaholot version of what M. Allen (1981) calles the "birth symbol".[3] The most elaborate example comes from Ili Api. The motif is certainly closely related

---

[3] The Ili Api pattern is certainly of the type discussed by Allen, but there is no locally recognized connection, to my knowledge, with a possible symbolic interpretation of the kind proposed by Allen.

to Heine-Geldern's "double spiral" (Fig. 44). Yet it appears on cloth which is completely covered with narrow ikat bands, all patterned in the so-called ornamental style, with saw-tooth, spiral, and meander designs.

Another very different object also shows a remarkable combination of the "monumental" with the "ornamental". This is a bronze figure found in east Flores and published by Marie J. Adams (1977, see also Ill. 55). The little statue has long been the sacred heirloom of a clan in the Lobe Tobi area, south of Larantuka, i.e. it was not found under circumstances where it could be dated on other than stylistic grounds.[4] It shows a woman seated at her back-strap loom, with a half-finished textile in front of her; she is nursing a child.[5] The figure is so far unique in Southeast

---

[4] Unfortunately, the figure has now been sold to an art dealer and its present where-abouts is unknown.

[5] Adams interprets the subject matter of the nursing mother weaving a cloth in symbolic terms. To further emphasise her interpretation, I want to add that in my experience of everyday life among the Lamaholot, a child is never nursed by the mother while she is busy weaving. Every woman I have spoken to has told me that children distract from weaving and that one should not combine the task of looking after young children with working at the loom. If a baby has to be nursed, the mother will roll up her work and turn her attention completely to the child.

Asia. The combination of size, subject matter, and technique are unparalleled. The object is made by the lost wax casting method, produced in one piece, evidently from a copper alloy (Adams 1977: 87). Stylistically the figure can be linked to wooden ancestral representations found in some, usually remote, regions of Southeast Asia. Adams illustrates figures from Jarai (a highland people of Vietnam), from eastern Sumba, and--especially striking in similarity--two wooden figures from Lio, Flores. The shape of the body and the facial treatment are certainly linked to the "monumental" style. Details, however, of hairdo, eyebrows, the loom's backstrap, and the textile itself, all show the interest in geometric, over-all surface decoration characteristic of the "ornamental". The hairdo, which might reflect a triple braid, is identical with the cord or rope pattern found on the Dong-son type bronzes. The same design appears on the backstrap, no doubt the abstracted geometric design here has its source in the lontar leaf backstrap seligu which is still universally used in the Lamaholot region. The loom depicted is a foot-braced body-tension loom. This kind of loom is not in use now in the Lamaholot area, nor anywhere else in Indonesia to my knowledge. As Adams points out (1977: 92), "In Indonesian technique the distant bar [the warp beam] is attached to posts beyond the weaver's feet...." The foot-braced loom has been reported from other areas of Southeast Asia, all however marginal to Indonesian populations.

It is also illustrated in a remarkable scene of small metal figures of women weaving attached to the lid of a bronze container found at Tomb 1, Shizhaishan, Yunnan Province of southern China (Vollmer 1979).[6]

All body-tension looms restrict the width of the textile which can be woven; but the foot-braced loom further limits the length of the warp to twice the length of the weaver's legs (as we are dealing with a continuous warp). It is most common in Indonesia that the warp beam is attached to posts beyond the weaver's feet, but it is a peculiarity of most Lamaholot weaving that the two posts hold both warp beam and foot rest, i.e. the warp is still not longer than twice the length of the weaver's legs. Only in west Solor and Lobe Tobi, both regions with traditional connections to central Flores, is the warp beam placed further away. It is curious that both Solor and Lobe Tobi women also do not use a palm-leaf backstrap, but one carved of wood. The bronze weaver, though of uncertain provenance, has definite links with the present culture of Flores and the Lamaholot. Stylistically it is close to the Lio ancestor figures, and the loom technology displayed here has close parallels in

[6] The site of Shizhaishan is identified with the royal cemetery of the kingdom of Dian, a Bronze-Iron Age culture that flourished in the southwestern frontier of the western Han empire (206 B.C.--A.D. 8).

Lamaholot, in the form of the backstrap and the length of the warp which is defined by the length of the outstretched legs. Although strictly speaking not a technical requirement of the present Lamaholot loom, which has an independent warp-beam, the permanent posts to which the beam is tied also holds the foot rest.

I cannot comment on the design which appears on the half-finished cloth, as I have not seen the figure myself. It had disappeared from the village when I enquired after it. The little statue cannot be used to make a historical point because of its uncertain origin and date. But stylistically it is evidence, in my opinion, that a division into the "monumental" and "ornamental" or an attempt to connect either with a particular culture is not significant for our consideration of textile design in eastern Indonesia. The discussion of pottery finds and their decorations has shown that the design which is so important to many traditional Indonesian textiles, and of which Lamaholot cloths are very convincing examples, was already present in the archipelago prior to the so-called Dong-son culture, and therefore did not depend on the bronzes of mainland Southeast Asia for inspiration.

Although the style of decoration is closely related to the bronze tradition, the latter seems not to have been necessary for the spread of the ornamental art in Southeast Asia. The metal objects provide excellent comparative

material, though, because of the wealth of motifs and relative clarity of designs. We can thereby also date the presence of some of our textile motifs in the area of Southeast Asia to at least the second half of the first millennium B.C.

CHAPTER XV: CONCLUSION

When one tries to unravel the different layers of outside and indigenous influences which have shaped the Lamaholot textile tradition, one deals inevitably with different levels of precision and historical certainty. First of all, there is the unmistakable assimilation of Indian patterns, which have been transmitted via patola cloths. This particular side of Lamaholot traditional cloth is relatively easy to define. Especially in Lamalera the adoption of patola patterns is unmistakable. They are imaginatively accepted and reinterpreted, and one is on very firm ground when dealing with the material. The adoption of patola is Lamalera's version of reacting to the Indian model which so much impressed other parts of Indonesia between A.D. 500 and 1400, before the advent of Islam. The cloths were much in demand when Europeans first arrived in eastern Indonesia; therefore they must have been well established trade items prior to European contacts. As a conservative guess, the patola have been in use in the Lamaholot region for five hundred years. They were sought-after luxury trade items throughout the region, and to a certain degree they influenced most ikat-producing areas. In Lamalera, however, the assimilation was particularly

successful. Certain patterns were associated with particular clans, and they were therefore prominently displayed in the central panel of the three-part cloth. The centre is of particular importance. The ruler of Lamalera was the descendant of the youngest son of Korohama and belongs to the clan named Lewotukan, i.e. "centre of the village". His clan house is located in the centre of the upper village, expressing its position in the community. Just as the ruler is situated in the centre of the community, the patola patterns are displayed in the central panel. It is appropriate for the visual display of aristocratic status.[1]

The patterns of Indian origin, though often renamed and reinterpreted, are easy enough to recognize. They are specific enough to make the connection apparent, and, as we are dealing with textiles in both cases, the influence becomes even more undisputable.

The connection with India can teach us more than is immediately apparent because it is so specific. Let us look at a cloth from northern Persia which has been in European collections since the Middle Ages. Illustration 131 shows the "Shroud of St. Josse", formerly used to wrap up the reliquaries of the saint in a small church in northern France

---

[1] Cf. Schulte Nordholt (1971: 409), "In each political community there is inevitably a centre which links the two halves of the princedom together."

and now in the Louvre. It shows two elephants in a wide central field, surrounded by narrow borders with camels in a row, heart-shapes and a split-palmette scroll. A Kufic inscription dates the textile with certainty to the middle of the tenth-century and gives it a definite place of origin, Khorasan in northeastern Persia.[2]

This cloth should be compared with Illustration 132 which shows a three-panel sarong from Lamalera, now in the Basel collection (IIc 14735). This cloth is probably fifty or sixty years old. It also shows elephants in the central panel, and the similarities are striking: the stance of the front legs is identical, the trunk curls inward slightly, and the animals are prepared for the royal hunt, wearing rugs on their backs. The obvious connecting link is an Indian prototype, which may or may not have been a patolu, for the Khorasan textile. In the Vatter collection at Frankfurt there is a patolu collected on Solor which provides the comparison (Ill. 133).

The similarity has to be explained through an indirect link which has been established via trade connections. Considering what we know about medieval commerce, the link is not really surprising. What is probably most astonishing is the faithful continuity of the image. Almost one thousand

---

[2] The silk textile has been described by Migeon (1922); it is also briefly mentioned by Ebersolt (1928).

years separate the two textiles, and yet the design is recognisably related.

Perhaps one should keep this fact in mind when considering the other, non-patola type of design in Lamaholot ikat. It is considerably more difficult to place these motifs in a historical context, though. The small, narrow band decoration is to a great degree identical with the geometric patterns of archaeological pottery finds and bronze objects. They have parallels in designs which go back into the second millennium B.C. in the islands of Southeast Asia. However, by making the comparison, we have to leave the medium of textiles and enter a more durable material. If we can compare the concentric circular zones of the Southeast Asian pottery, of the Kalanay type, to the ikat bands of a sarong on the one hand and to the bronze drums of the Dong-son type on the other, we can expand in geography and chronology until we have reached the frozen tombs of the Altai or certain archaeological sites of Asia Minor.

The burial sites of the Altai in southern Siberia have preserved some of the oldest textiles we know; the finds are dated to the fifth- and fourth-centuries B.C.[3]

---

[3] The textiles provide examples of the vast trade connections which the Altai nomads could depend on. There are several pieces from the Middle East, i.e. Persia, which was then ruled by the Archaemenian dynasty. There also was found a splendid Chinese silk used as trimming for a saddle blanket (Cat. No. 39).

It is not a textile I want to mention in this context, however, but a mirror which is decorated in concentric circles, alternatingly incised with the saw-tooth and ladder designs (Frozen Tombs 1978: ill. 28). A similar combination is common on the bronze drums of Southeast Asia.

The Altai tombs also contained numerous and excellent examples of the animal style characteristic of the Inner Asian nomadic tribes. This in turn provides a definite relationship to the much earlier Hittite art of Asia Minor. The Hittite empire ruled in Anatolia and the Levant from ca. 1400-1200 B.C. It is distinctly different from the Mesopotamian and Assyrian art in its combination of geometric patterns with the animal style, in particular the prominence of the stag motif, which is otherwise not important in the Near East. A metal belt found at the capital Hattusas, near the present Turkish village of Boghazköy, shows a very specific, unusual representation of the double-spiral motif. The identical double-spiral pattern appears on a bronze dagger axe found in north Thailand at Udorn. (See Figure 45 for the comparison between both patterns.)

Looking outward from a very narrowly defined textile tradition, I can merely point to the similarities. The pottery finds from maritime Southeast Asia display patterns which are also found on mainland Asian objects of durable material, both metal and pottery; they appear even in

sites which are geographically far removed, as distant as southern Siberia and Asia Minor. However, the textiles also show geometric or figural representations which have not been discovered on objects which are older than the bronze tradition of Southeast Asia. These include the star, the anthropomorphic images (ancestor representations), animal forms, the so-called birth symbol, and the boat. All of these motifs connect the textiles of the Lamaholot to the iconography of Inner Asia. The ancestor figure, a frontal representation in abstracted forms, has been discussed earlier. It is frequently combined with the fertility symbol of the double spiral and the "birth symbol". The combination takes place on the Ili Api cloth mentioned above (Ill. 134), a similar image can be found on the pua of the Iban of Sarawak. The ancestor motif by itself is of such great importance that it is represented in the patola-type ata dikã̃.

The boat, as it appears on Lamaholot cloth, is only an insignificant-looking cousin to the magnificent ship cloths of Sumatra (see Gittinger 1976). Yet though modestly presented, the image of the boat is certainly essential to the communal well-being of Lamalera.

The representation of the ship fits well into the band-type design group. There are two versions,

(1) jõ/jon (Atadẽi), which is intended to show the

merchant boat, the Chinese junk or Javanese trading vessel; the fact that it exists as a traditional design shows that one was well aware of outside traders. The pattern is unique to southern Lembata; it is possible that here, again, we see a reference to the outside contacts which the sea-faring communities could pride themselves on.

(2) tẽna, the indigenous boat, which is unique to Lamalera.

The pattern tẽna represents the traditional fishing boat, which for virtually all clans in the village also was the link to their ancestral home. These boats represent continuity to each clan. They remain the same boats, with the same names, even after having been rebuilt numerous times over hundreds of years.

The boat representations we know from the Southeast Asian bronze tradition, which seems to survive in the cloths of southern Sumatra (see Gittinger 1976), are iconographically different from Lamalera's tẽna. The tẽna has no superstructure, and no anthropomorphic figures are ever shown in connection with it. Adams (1977) also discusses a bronze boat which has been found on Flores (first described by Vroklage 1940). It shows in three-dimensional form a boat which could be similar to ships represented on the bronze kettle-drums. It must also be compared to the ship cloths discussed by Gittinger. In all of the boat representations just mentioned,

human figures appear. The téna, however, shows only the oars. The Flores bronze ship has a curious point in common with the téna of one particular Lamalera clan, though. At the stern it shows a cock. In Lamalera, the clan Lélaona claims to have once owned a "bird of wealth", a cock which supplied the clan with the greatest riches. At the stern of any boat belonging to Lélaona one therefore finds a small carving representing the "golden cock":  . The same symbol may also be carved into the weaving sword, huri, of a woman descended from Lélaona.

The representation of the boat, téna, is certainly a reference to the ancestral home, to the clan's place of origin. It is always surrounded by fish, usually moku, a small manta ray. The moku pattern, the more elaborate form of which is related to certain patola designs (the heart shape), could possibly be compared to the birds which encircle the lids of some kettle drums. The comparison must be stylistic, not iconographic, in this case.

To conclude, there are, in my opinion, at least three different traditions which contributed to the ikat designs of the Lamaholot in general, and to Lamalera in particular. The geometric patterns which are found on narrow ikat bands are similar to, and to some degree identical with, pottery finds of Southeast Asia, including the islands of Indonesia, and may go back into the second millennium B.C. These particular patterns have up to now been discussed as

Part of the "ornamental style", supposedly dependent on the introduction, from mainland Asia, of decorated bronze objects. There is no reason to see the type of design in this light any more.

In addition, a wider type of pattern, usually displayed in the border of an ikat cloth, is found in all Lamaholot traditions. Common to east Flores, Solor, and all of Lembata is the star, usually an eight-pointed star. This star pattern may be related to the star surrounded by band-type decoration which appears on bronze kettle-drums. It could also, however, depend on a much more recent Indian origin. The eight-pointed star is a frequent pattern in the patola . The boat, the fish (moku), the scorpion, the human figure, the rhombic shape of the "tool box" design and the "birth symbol" (the two may be related), are all designs which fit into the band-type decoration and are even restricted to it, but which apparently do not belong to the group of patterns associated with the pottery. They represent a different approach to pictorial design: objects are recognizable, the reference is to a specific, identifiable theme. It is possible to read particular motifs, which relate to the well-being of the community and to its relationship to the past and future.

Finally, and definitely of foreign origin, is added the Indian model, in the form of designs found on silk double-ikat cloths. These are reinterpreted in local, indigenous terms. They also allow social distinctions to be

emphasised. If these were expressed in the cloths prior to patola-influences, they can no longer be discovered. The expression of superior status became part of the ikat production in Lamaholot, but nowhere was it better articulated than in the village of Lamalera.

APPENDIX: A WEAVING TERMINOLOGY

Back-strap (*seligu*)[1]	Belt yoke which is tied to the cloth beam and leads around the weaver's back. She thereby controls the tension of the warp.
Back-strap loom	See body-tension loom.
Batik	Resist-dye process in which wax is applied to the cloth surface; the waxed area does not take on the dye.
Beam (*tenané*, *pola*)	Any of the horizontal rollers or stationary members of a loom over which the warp or cloth passes.
Body-tension loom	Any loom with tension to stretch the warp ends applied by the weight of the weaver's body. Usually one end is fixed and the other is attached around the weaver's waist by a belt.
Bow (*menu*)	A bow which is struck to produce vibrations to fluff and loosen

[1] The technical definitions follow Burnham (1981). I have included the Lamaholot terms, where applicable, as used in the Lamalera dialect of Lamaholot.

	cotton or wool in preparation for spinning.
Breast beam (tenané)	See cloth beam.
Cloth beam (tenané)	The roller on which the cloth is wound as weaving proceeds. On simple looms with spiral (continuous) warp, the beam over which the woven cloth passes.
Coil rod	Rod around which the circular cross in a warp is made; also serves as a warp spacer. See cross.
Cotton gin (béa)	A device for separating cotton fibres from the attached seeds.
Cross	A crossing of the warp ends made over pegs while warping proceeds; used to maintain the proper order of the threads. Synonyms: laze, lease.
Cross sticks (ketebu riuk)	A pair of sticks or rods fastened through the cross to maintain the thread order. Synonyms: laze rods or lease rods.
Foot-braced loom	Simple body-tension loom with one end of the warp threads held by tension applied by the weaver's feet.

Hand reel (belafa) — Device for skeining yarn; it consists of a central bar for grasping and two cross bars on which the yarn is laid.

Heddle (guru) — The loop of thread, or other material, through which a warp end is passed so that it may be raised to open the shed to permit the passage of the weft. With backstrap looms, the heddle is only raised.

Heddle rod (guru kajo) — A rod with loops used on simple looms for making a shed opening. It lies above the warp and is attached by loops to those warp threads that are behind the shed stick.

Ikat (mofa) — Resist dye process in which designs are reserved in warp, weft, or both, by tying off small bundles of yarn to prevent penetration of the dye.

Laze — See Cross.

Laze rods (ketebu riuk) — See Cross sticks.

Lease — See Cross.

Lease rods (ketebu riuk) — See Cross sticks.

Loom (tenané-pola) — Any means of holding a stretched warp which has the addition of a device for opening a shed for the passage of the weft.

Plangi — Resist dye process in which areas

	of textile are bound off by cord or string, thus reserving them from dye.
Reed	An instrument through which the warp ends are passed to keep them evenly spaced.
Selvage	The longitudinal edge of a textile closed by weft loops.
Shed (ekok, tié)	The opening in the warp that permits passage of the shuttle.
Shed stick, shed rod (fulo)	Stick threaded between stretched warp ends creating an opening through which the weft is passed. It creates the basic shed usually by passing over and under alternate warp ends.
Shuttle (fani)	Tool by which the weft is passed through the shed opening in the warp.
Stick shuttle (fani)	A plain straight stick around which the weft is bound.
Sizing (giri)	The treating of warp threads with a substance to increase their strength and smoothness.
Skein (kenumak)	A quantity of yarn stretched around a winding device.
Spindle (keduka)	Tool used for spinning thread, a

	stick or rod which is rotated causing attached fibres to adhere to each other and form a thread. A hand spindle is usually weighted at one end with a spindle whorl.
Spindle whorl (keduka nubang)	Weight placed on the end of a hand spindle to increase the mobility of the spindle.
String heddle (guru)	Thread loop through which a warp end is passed so that it may be raised or lowered to open the shed. See Heddle.
Swift (menué)	A rotating holder of adjustable size used to hold a skein of yarn when it is being unwound. A swift is used for unwinding and is not to be confused with a (hand) reel which is used for winding.
Sword, sword beater (huri)	A flat bladelike stick used with simple looms (a) to widen the gap between the separated warp threads, and (b) to beat in the weft.
Tabby weave	Basic binding system or weave based on a unit of two warp and two weft, in which each warp passes over one weft and under the other. Depending on spacing of warp to weft, the tabby can vary from a completely

	warp-faced material to one in which only the weft is visible.
Temple (nugi)	An implement designed to hold the cloth to a constant width during weaving.
Tritik	Resist dye process in which designs are reserved by sewing and gathering the cloth.
Warp (nekat)	The longitudinal threads of a textile, which are arranged on the loom. A single thread of warp is called an end.
Warp beam (pola)	The beam to which the warp is attached; on simple looms with spiral warp, the beam that keeps the tension on the unwoven parts of the warp.
Warp-faced weave	Weave in which the warp predominates, more or less concealing the weft. The term can be used to qualify the basic binding system, e.g. warp-faced tabby.
Warp spacer	An implement which keeps the warp ends evenly spaced. See Coil-rod.

Weave (tenané)	System of interlacing the threads of warp and weft according to defined rules.
Weft (beloé)	The transverse threads of a textile, which are passed through the shed. A single thread of weft is called a pick.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Marie Jeanne 1969. System and Meaning in East Sumba Textile Design: A Study in Traditional Indonesian Art. (Southeast Asia Studies Cultural Report Series, no. 16), New Haven: Yale University Press.

------ 1977. A "Forgotten" Bronze Ship and a Recently Discovered Bronze Weaver from Eastern Indonesia. Asian Perspectives 22: 87-109.

Allen, Max 1981. The Birth Symbol in Traditional Women's Art from Eurasia and the Western Pacific. Toronto: The Museum of Textiles.

Andaya, Leonard 1981. The Heritage of Arung Palakka, A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century. (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 91), The Hague: Nijhoff.

Arndt, Paul 1933. Li'onesisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch. Ende, Flores: Arnoldus-Druckerei.

------ 1937. Grammatik der Solor-Sprache. Ende, Flores: Arnoldus-Drukkerij.

------ 1938. Demon und Padzi, die feindlichen Brüder des Solor-Archipels. Anthropos 33: 1-58.

Baines, Patricia 1982. Spinning Wheels: Spinners and Spinning. London: Batsford.

Barbosa, Duarte 1921. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, Mansel Longworth Dames, ed., 2 vols. London: Hakluyt Society.

Barley, Nigel 1983. Hierarchy and an Absent Term. (Paper given to the conference on "Context and Levels", St. Antony's College, March, 1983, unpublished).

Barnes, R. H. 1973. The Rainbow in the Representations of Inhabitants of the Flores Area of Indonesia. Anthropos 68: 611-613.

------ 1974a. Kédang: a Study of the Collective Thought of an Eastern Indonesian People. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

------ 1974b. Lamalerap: a Whaling Village in Eastern Indonesia. Indonesia No. 17 (April): 137-159.

------ 1977. Mata in Austronesia. Oceania 47: 300-319.

------ 1980. Cetaceans and Cetacean Hunting: Lamalera, Indonesia. [Report on World Wildlife Fund Project 1428. Typescript, 82 pp. Available from the World Wildlife Fund.]

------ 1982. Number and Number Use in Kédang, Indonesia. Man 17: 1-22.

Basilio de Sá, Artur, ed., 1956. Historia de Maluco no Tempo de Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque e Sancho de Vasconcellos... 1636. Fundação das Primeiras Cristanades nas Ilhas de Solor e Timor... 1624-25. In Documentação para a História das Missões do Pradroada Português do Oriente, Insulíndia, vol. 4. Lisbon: Agencia Geral do Ultramar.

Beckering, J. D. H. 1911. Beschrijving der eilanden Adonara en Lomblen, behoorende tot de Solor-Groep. Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, 2e Serie, 28: 167-202.

Biro Pusat Statistik 1981. Sensus Penduduk 1980: Penduduk Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur, Hasil Pencacahan Lengkap. Kupang, Timor: Kantor Statistik Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur.

Blust, Robert 1976. Austronesian Culture History: Some Linguistic Inferences and their Relations to the Archaeological Record. World Archaeology 8: 19-43.

Bode, Bernardus 1925. Lamalera's stervend Heidendom en groeiende Christelijkheid. De Katholieke Missien 50: 6: 113-116; 7: 129-132.

Bolland, Rita 1971. A Comparison between the Looms Used in Bali and Lombok for Weaving Sacred Cloths. Tropical Man 4: 149-170.

------ 1979. Demonstration of Three Looms. In Irene Emery and Patricia Fiske, eds., Looms and Their Products. Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum.

Bühler, Alfred 1942. The Ikat Technique. Dyes and Dyeing Methods for Ikat Threads. The Origin and Extent of the Ikat Technique. Ciba Review (1942): 1586-1611.

------ 1943. Materialien zur Kenntnis der Ikattechnik. Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie 43, Supplement.

------ 1948. Dyeing among Primitive Peoples. Ciba Review (1948).

------ 1959. Patola Influences in Southeast Asia. Journal of Indian Textile History 4: 4-46.

------ 1972. Ikat, Batik, Plangi. Basel: Pharos-Verlag.

Bühler, Alfred and Eberhard Fischer 1979. The Patola of Gujarat, Double Ikat in India, 2 vols. Basel: Krebs.

Burkill, I. H. 1935. A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula, 2 vols. London: Crown Agents.

Burnham, Dorothy K. 1981. A Textile Terminology: Warp and Weft. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Cacegas, Luis and Luis de Sousa 1678. Historia de S. Domingos, vol. 3. Lisbon.

Chijs, J. A. van der, ed., 1891. Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia, Anno 1663. The Hague: Nijhoff.

Commelin, Isaac, ed., 1646. Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie, vol. 4. Amsterdam.

Coolhaas, W. Ph., ed., 1960. Generale Missiven van Gouverneur-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Vereinigde Oostindische Compagnie, vol. 1 (1610-1638). The Hague: Nijhoff.

------ 1964. Generale Missiven van Gouverneur-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Vereinigde Oostindische Compagnie, vol. 2 (1639-1655). The Hague: Nijhoff.

------ 1968. Generale Missiven van Gouverneur-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Vereinigde Oostindische Compagnie, vol. 3 (1655-1674). The Hague: Nijhoff.

Crawfurd, John 1856. A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries. London: Bradbury and Evans.

Dempwolff, Otto 1938. Austronesisches Wörterverzeichnis. (Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes, vol. 3). (Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen, no. 19), Berlin: Reimer.

Ebersolt, Jean 1928. Orient et Occident: Recherches sur les influences byzantines et orientales en France avant les Croisades. Paris and Brussels: G. van Oest.

Elmberg, John-Erik 1968. Balance and Circulation: Aspects of Tradition and Change among the Mejprat of Irian Barat. (The Ethnographical Museum, Stockholm, Monograph Series, Publication No. 12), Stockholm: Etnografiska Museet.

Emery, Irene and Patricia Fiske, eds., 1979. Looms and their Products. (Irene Emery Roundtable on Museum Textiles, 1977 Proceedings), Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum.

Fox, James J. 1977. Roti, Ndao, and Savu. In Mary Hunt Kahlenberg, ed., Textile Traditions of Indonesia. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

------ 1980. Figure Shark and Pattern Crocodile: the Foundations of the Textile Traditions of Roti and Ndao. In Mattiebelle Gittinger, ed., Indonesian Textiles. Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum.

Fox, R. B. 1970. The Tabon Caves: Archaeological Explorations and Excavations on Palawan Island, Philippines. Manila: National Museum.

Frankfort, Henry 1970. The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient. London: Pelican.

Frozen Tombs, the Culture and Art of the Ancient Tribes of Siberia. 1978. London: British Museum.

Gilfoy, Peggy S. 1980. Textiles in Africa and Indonesia: a Connection? In Mattiebelle Gittinger, ed., Indonesian Textiles. Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum.

Gittinger, Mattiebelle 1976. The Ship Textiles of South Sumatra: Functions and Design System. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 132: 202-227.

------ 1979a. Spendid Symbols: Textiles and Tradition in Indonesia. Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum.

------ 1979b. An Introduction to the Body-Tension Looms and Simple Frame Looms of Southeast Asia. In Irene Emery and Patricia Fiske, eds., Looms and their Products. Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum.

Gittinger, Mattiebelle, ed., 1980. Indonesian Textiles. (Irene Emery Roundtable on Museum Textiles, 1979 Proceedings), Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum.

Goslings, B. M. 1928-29. Het Primitiefste der Primitieve Indonesische Weefgetouwen. Nederlandsch Indië Oud en Nieuw 13: 85-96, 112-125.

Greve, W. 1884. Algemeen Verslag der Residentie Timor en Onderhoorigheden over het Jaar 1884. [Arsip Nasional, Jakarta, Indonesia, unpublished].

------ 1887. Algemeen Verslag der Residentie Timor en Onderhoorigheden over het Jaar 1887. [Arsip Nasional, Jakarta, Indonesia, unpublished].

Hazaart, Jacobus Arnoldus 1834. Algemeen Verslag der Residentie Timor en Onderhoorigheden over het Jaar 1834. [Arsip Nasional, Jakarta, Indonesia, unpublished].

Hein, Alois Raimund 1890. Die bildenden Künste bei den Dayaks auf Borneo: ein Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kunstgeschichte. Vienna: Hölder.

Heine-Geldern, Robert von 1937. L'Art prébouddhique de la Chine et de l'Asie du Sud-est et son influence en Océanie. Revue des Arts Asiatiques 11: 177-206.

Hitchcock, Michael J. 1983. Technology and Society in Bima, Sumbawa, with Special Reference to House Building and Textile Manufacture. (Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford).

Hornell, James 1934. Indonesian Influence on East African Culture. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 64: 305-332.

Hornell, J. 1946. Water Transport. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hooykaas, C. 1978. Patola and Gringsing: an Additional Note. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 134: 356-359.

Horridge, G. Adrian 1978. The Design of Planked Boats of the Moluccas. (Maritime Monographs and Reports No. 38), London: National Maritime Museum.

------ 1982. The Lashed-lug Boats of the Eastern Archipelago. (Maritime Monographs and Reports No. 54), London: National Maritime Museum.

Irwin, John 1955. Indian Textile Trade in the Seventeenth Century: (1) Western India. Journal of Indian Textile History 1: 5-33.

------ 1956. Indian Textile Trade in the Seventeenth Century: (2) Coromandel Coast. Journal of Indian Textile History 2: 24-42.

Jacobs, Hubert, ed., 1974. Fr. Baltasar Dias S.J. to Fr. Provincial Antônio de Quadros S.J., Goa--Malacca, December 3, 1559. In Documenta Malucensia, vol. 1 (1542-1577): 299-329. Rome: Monumenta Historica Societas Iesu.

Jager Gerlings, J. H. 1952. Sprekende Weefsels: Studie over Ontstaan en Betekenis van Weefsels van enige Indonesische Eilanden. (Mededeling No. 99), Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen.

Jasper, J.E. and Mas Pirngadie 1912. De Weefkunst. De inlandsche Kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsche Indië, vol. 2. The Hague: Mouton.

Kahlenberg, Mary Hunt 1977. Textile Traditions of Indonesia. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Kajitani, Nabuko 1980. Traditional Dyes in Indonesia. In Mattiebelle Gittinger, ed., Indonesian Textiles. Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum.

Keraf, Gregorius 1978. Morfologi Dialek Lamalera. Ende, Flores: Percetakan Offset Arnoldus.

------ 1983. Report on SSRC Project "Economy and Social Change in Lamalera, Indonesia". (Unpublished).

Korn, V.E. 1960. The Village Republic of Tenganan Pegeringsingan. In J. L. Swellengrebel, ed., Bali: Studies in Life, Thought, and Ritual. The Hague and Bandung: van Hoeve. [first published in Dutch, 1933]

Lambooy, Pieter 1927. Sporen van oudere bevolking op Sumba. De Macedoniër 31: 232-38.

Leemker, H. H. O. 1893. Woordenlijstje van de Soloreesche Taal. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 36: 421-461.

Le Roux, C.C.F.M. 1929. De Elcano's Tocht door den Timorarchipel met Magalhães Schip "Victoria". In Feestbundel Uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van zijn 150 Jarig Bestaan 1778-1928, vol. 2. Weltevreden: Kolff.

Leur, J. C. van 1955. Indonesian Trade and Society. The Hague and Bandung: van Hoeve.

Ling Roth, H. 1918. Studies in Primitive Looms. Halifax: Bankfield Museum.

Lynden, D. W. C. Baron van 1851. Bijdrage tot de kennis van Solor, Allor, Rotti, Savoe en omliggende eilanden, getrokken uit een Verslag van de Residentie Timor. Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië 2: 317-36, 388-414.

Maxwell, Robyn J. 1979. Textile and Ethnic Configurations in Flores and the Solor Archipelago. In Mattiebelle Gittinger, ed., Indonesian Textiles. Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum.

------ 1981. Textiles and Tusks: Some Observations on the Social Dimensions of Weaving in East Flores. In Five Essays on the Indonesian Arts (Music, Theatre, Textiles, Painting and Literature). Melbourne: Monash University Press.

Migeon, M. Gaston 1922. Un Tissu de Soie persan du Xe siècle en Musée du Louvre. Syria 3: 41-43.

Miller, J. Innes 1969. The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire, 29 B.C. to A.D. 641. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Nabholz-Kartaschoff, Marie-Louise 1969. Ikatgewebe aus Nord- und Südeuropa. Basler Beiträge zur Ethnologie, vol. 6.

Nettleship, Martin A. 1970. A Unique Southeast Asian Loom. Man 5: 686-698.

Orta, Garcia da 1913. Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India. London: Sotheran & Co.

Periplus des Erythäischen Meeres, Der, von einem Unbekannten, B. Fabricius, ed. 1883. Leipzig: Veit & Comp.

Pigeaud, Theodore G. Th. 1962. Java in the 14th Century: A Study in Cultural History. The Nagara-Kertagama by Rakawi Prapañca of Majapahit, 1365 A.D., vol. 4. The Hague: Nijhoff.

Pires, Tomé 1944. The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires, 2 vols., Armando Cortesao, ed. London: Hakluyt Society.

Pliny (Plinius Secundus) 1952. Natural History, H. Rackham, trans., vol. 4. London: Heinemann.

Polo, Marco 1871. The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian, Concerning the Kingdoms and Morrels of the East, Henry Yule, ed., 2 vols. London: Murray.

Raats, M. 1958. Römisch-ägyptische Glasperlen im Ngada-gebiet auf Flores. Anthropos 53: 1023-24.

Ramseyer, Urs 1975/6. Geringsing. In A. Bühler, U. Ramsayer, Nicole Ramseyer-Gugi, Patola und Geringsing. Basel: Museum für Völkerkunde und Schweizerisches Museum für Volkskunde.

------ 1977. The Art and Culture of Bali. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rodrigues, Francisco 1944. The Book of Francisco Rodrigues. Included in A. Cortesao, ed., The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires, London: Hakluyt Society.

Rouffaer, G. 1901. Over Ikat, Tjindes, Patolas en Chines. Koloniaal Weekblad, Nov. 7, 1901.

------ 1902. Tentoonstelling van Oost-Indische weefsels en batik's. Catalogus, Museum v. Land- en Volkenkunde en Maritiem Museum "Prinz Hendrik". Rotterdam.

Rouffaer, G. P. and H. H. Juynboll 1914. De Batik-kunst in Nederlandsch-Indië en haar geschiedenis. Utrecht: Oosthoek. [in Dutch and German]

Schouten, Wouter 1676. Wouter Schoutens Oostindische Voyagie. Amsterdam: Meurs and van Someren.

Schulte Nordholt, H. G. 1971. The Political System of the Atoni of Timor. (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, no. 60), The Hague: Nijhoff.

Schuster, Carl 1956/58. Genealogical Patterns in the Old and New Worlds. Revista do Museu Paulista, vol. X. São Paulo.

-------- 1965. Remarks on the Design of an Early Ikat Textile in Japan. In Festschrift Alfred Bühler (Basler Beiträge zur Geographie und Ethnologie, Ethnologische Reihe Band 2), Basel.

Smith, R. B. and W. Watson, eds., 1979. Early South East Asia: Essays in Archaeology, History and Historical Geography. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Solheim, W. G. 1957. The Kalanay Pottery Complex in the Philippines. Artibus Asiae 20: 279-288.

------ 1979. A Look at "L'Art Prébouddhique de la Chine et de l'Asia du Sud-Est et son Influence en Océanie" Forty Years After. Asian Perspectives 22: 165-205.

Stübel, Hans 1937. Die Li-Stämme der Insel Hainam. Berlin: Klinkhardt and Biermann.

Teysmann, J. E. 1874. Verslag eener botanische reis over Timor en de daaronder ressorteerende eilanden Samauw, Alor, Solor, Floris en Soemba. Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië 34: 348-517.

Tietze, Käthe 1941. Sitten und Gebräuche beim Säen, Ernten, Spinnen, Ikatten, Färben und Weben der Baumwolle im Sikka-Gebiet (östliches Mittel-Flores). Ethnologica 5: 1-64.

Tregear, Edward 1891. The Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary. Wellington: Lyon and Blair.

Valentijn, Francois 1726. Beschrijving van Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, vol. 3. Dortrecht: Braam.

Vatter, Ernst 1932. Ata Kiwan: unbekannte Bergvölker im tropischen Holland. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut.

Vollmer, John E. 1979. Archaeological Evidence for Looms from Yunnan. In Irene Emery and Patricia Fiske, eds., Looms and their Products. Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum.

Vroklage, B. A. G. 1940. De Prauw in culturen van Flores. Cultureel Indië 2: 193-199, 230-34, 263-70.

------ 1953. Ethnographie der Belu in Zentral-Timor, 3 vols. Leiden: Brill.

Watson. A. M. 1977. The Rise and Spread of Old World Cotton. In Veronika Gervers, ed., Studies in Textile History. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum.

Watters, Kent 1977. "Lomblen". In Mary Hunt Kahlenberg, Textile Traditions of Indonesia. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Wirz, Paul 1931. Die magischen Gewebe von Bali und Lombok. Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums 2: 129-139.

Woodward, Hiram W. 1980. Indonesian Textile Patterns from a Historical Point of View. In Mattiebelle Gittinger, ed., Indonesian Textiles. Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum.